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EDITED BY

Professor D. C. SIRCAR

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Our Journal

In issuing Vol. IV (Parts 1-2, 1970-71) of our *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, we humbly seek the patronage and blessings of all who are interested in the advancement of Indological studies. Any suggestion to make the periodical more useful as also more worthy of the great name of our *alma mater*, from friends and well-wishers, will be gratefully received and carefully considered.

The Journal, edited by the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, with the assistance of his colleagues, publishes papers on all aspects of the history and culture of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, particularly relating to the period down to the 13th century A.D., with special reference to the subjects included in the syllabi of the M.A. Examinations in Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology, e.g., Prehistory and Protohistory; Culture of the Vedic, Epic, Purāṇic, Buddhist, Jain and Classical Sanskrit Literature; Political History; Cosmography and Historical Geography; Epigraphy and Numismatics; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Iconography; Spread of Indianism; Socio-Economic Life and Polity; Religious Life; Astronomy and Mathematics; Ethnology and Archaeology; etc. Our endeavour is to include in it only articles which are of a reasonably high standard and contain new facts, arguments or conclusions. Preference will be given to papers submitted by persons associated with our Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture (including the Centre of Advanced Study) and Archaeology.

For the benefit of our students, the Journal reprints articles which are prescribed for them, but appeared long ago in periodicals not easily available today. Likewise, it publishes, for their use, important articles translated from other languages.

Our reviewers are advised to give an idea about the contents of the books, emphasising their merits, but without totally suppressing glaring defects. They may discuss the points on which they disagree with the authors, substantiating their views with arguments. But the reviews are not expected to be either too lengthy or too short, nor should they contain mere vague praise or denunciation. The authors and publishers may please submit *two copies* of each book for review.

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D. C. SIRCAR

Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University.

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PLATE I

Abanindranath Tagore
[See *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. Sircar, Calcutta, pp. 244-48 ; cf. p. 8.]

This Volume is
Dedicated to the Sacred Memory of
Abanindranath Tagore
(1871-1951)
Bageshwari (Bagiswari) Professor of Indian Fine Arts
(October 1, 1926, to September 30, 1929)
University of Calcutta
On the Occasion of the Centenary of his Birth.

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ARTICLES

SOME EARLY INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AMARAVATI MUSEUM

H. SARKAR

The Archaeological Museum at Amaravati in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, contains a large number of inscribed sculptural and architectural objects, which were recovered from time to time in various operations in and around the famous *mahā-caitya* there. Some of these antiquities were discovered as early as the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but were left at the sculpture-shed at the site itself. A large number of inscribed sculptural and architectural fragments also came to light in the course of a clearance-operation at the *stūpa*-site during the year 1958–59.[1] These are now housed along with the antiquities, recovered earlier, in the Archaeological Museum ; some of the heavier objects, with early inscriptions, have, however, been left at the site to indicate their original find-spots. All such inscriptions, available either in the Museum or at the site, were copied by A. Ghosh, the former Director General of Archaeology in India, assisted by the present writer, in 1962. Those belonging to the early periods, ascribable to the third-second century B. C., have already been discussed in two earlier studies.[2] The purpose of the present

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1 The operation was conducted under the supervision of R. Subrahmanyam of the Archaeological Survey of India. The results have been noticed briefly in *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—A Review* (New Delhi, 1959), p. 5.

2 A. Ghosh and H. Sarkar 'Beginnings of Sculptural Art in South-East India', in *Ancient India*, Nos. 20-21 (New Delhi, 1967), pp. 168–77 ; and

paper is to catalogue the inscriptions of the early Christian era, with a view primarily to complete the documentation part of the work; the Aśokan inscription[3] and the two medieval records, one in Kannaḍa and the other in Telugu,[4] in the Amaravati Museum have not been included in the present study.

Of the seventy-seven inscriptions (excluding the one discovered in 1968) copied by Ghosh, fifty-one have been ascribed by him to the early period. These have been numbered 1 to 44; but there are two inscriptions under No. 7 (i.e., 7 and 7A) and eight under No. 41 (*i.e.*, 41A to 41H). Ghosh has catalogued all the early inscriptions in his paper read at the Conference on Asian Archaeology at Colombo, 1969. He says in conclusion, "There is thus ample material, consisting of inscribed architectural pieces and sculpture, perhaps more copiously in the Amaravati Museum than elsewhere, to establish the existence of a *stūpa* at Amaravati in the second century B. C. But that is not the beginning, for there is evidence that the *stūpa* had an earlier origin. I refer to fragmentary, but massive, granite pillars (1 to 3), all lying near the eastern entrance of the *stūpa* site, the inscriptions on at least two of which (1 and 2) are clearly Aśokan in character, that on the third one (3) being perhaps somewhat later, or even contemporary, but engraved by a different and more skilful hand. One of them (2) has a lenticular mortise cut into it; there must have been more in the part now missing. Further, the inscriptions on all of them call them *stambha* (*thabho*). There can be no doubt, therefore,

A. Ghosh, 'Early Inscriptions from Amaravati, South-East India', in *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Asian Archaeology*, Colombo, 1969 (in the press).

3 D. C. Sircar, 'Fragmentary Pillar Inscription from Amaravati', in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV (1963–1964), pp. 40–43.

4 They bear the Museum accession Nos. 51 and 525 respectively.

that the granite pieces were the uprights of a railing which preceded even the earliest limestone railing at Amaravati."

The number of later inscriptions from Amaravati, ascribable to the early Christian era, is twenty-seven including the inscription discovered in 1968 (Pl. VII). These may be numbered from 45 to 71 in continuation of the serial number followed by Ghosh in his above-mentioned article. Thus, the Amaravati Museum has, so far as the present series is concerned, seventy-eight inscriptions – fifty-one belonging to the early and twenty-seven to the later period. Engraved invariably on greenish limestone, these inscriptions are mostly fragmentary, some of which are already published elsewhere or briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1959-60.*[5]

Of the twenty-seven inscriptions, three are on the uprights of the railing; five on cross-bars of more or less equal dimensions; two on copings; five on pillars not belonging to any rail; four on dome-slabs encasing the *stūpa*; two on drum-friezes; four on sculptured fragments, the nature of which is difficult to ascertain; one inside a trough; and one on an indeterminate fragment. It is evident from the above that these fragments pertain not only to the railings, but also to the *stūpas*.

The following is the list of inscriptions, ascribable to the early years of the Christian era :—

(a) *On Uprights* (45-47)

45 (558)[6]—Upper part broken. L. 81 cm. ; ext. h. (including

5 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1959–60 (Delhi, 1963), pp. 47-50, Nos. 21-62. These entries include inscriptions of both early and later phases.

6 The number in brackets, if not stated otherwise, is the field-number of the excavator or the accession number of the Museum. The following

the undressed part) 88 cm. ; t. 33 cm. Carved on both faces. Semi-circular sockets on all the four faces at the base. Inscription (l. 12 cm.) on undressed part : *Dhamasa* (Pl. I. 45), evidently the name of a stone-mason.

46(559).—Upper part broken. L. 90 cm. ; ext. h. 80 cm. ; t. 25 cm. Inscription (1.23 cm.) on undressed part written vertically from the base-side : *Nāgabu* (Pl. I. 46). It is evidently the name* of a stone-mason also occurring on three other examples—two in the Madras Government Museum[7] and the other two, including the present one, in the Amaravati Museum.

47(560).—Almost similar to the previous one. Upper part broken. L. 74 cm. ; ext. h. 90 cm., t. 10 cm. Inscription (1.24 cm.) on undressed part written vertically starting from the top-side : *Nāgabu* (Pl. I. 47).

(b) *On Cross-bars* (48-52)

The five limestone cross-bars form one group. L. varying from 38 to 40 cm. ; h. 29 to 31 cm. ; t. 7 to 9 cm. Ill-defined lenticular tenons being of the same height and thickness as the main part.[8] Inscriptions (Pl. I. 49-52) varying in length from 2.6 to 4.2 cm. consist of a Brāhmī letter followed by a number.[9]—

---

abbreviations have been followed in the description : l.=length ; h.=height ; t.=thickness ; a.=area ; ext.=extant.

*[May be an abbreviation of the name *Nāgabuddhi*.—Ed.]

7 R. P. Chanda, 'Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions', in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV (1919-1920), pp. 258-75, Nos. 1 and 30 ; also C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum* (Madras, 1956), p. 292, Nos. 76 and 77.

8 Almost identical type, but uninscribed, comes from Nagarjunakonda. See H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (Delhi, 1966), p. 88.

9 *ARIE* identifies them as masons' marks. Cf. Nos. 21, 29 and 30.

48(531/91).—*pa* 70 5 (?)
49(540/91).—*sa* 30 7
50(544/90).—*a* 30 [*]
51(550/235-1).—*dha* 70 1
52(579/90).—*ca* 70 2

(c) *On Coping Stones* (53-54)

53(311/300).—Both ends broken. Top rounded. Flat base with an extant mortise. Ext. 1.56 cm. ; h. 30 cm. ; t. 15 cm. Inscription (1.21 cm.) : ....*uvāsikāya Haṁviyā putasa*... (Pl. I. 53).[10]

54(127).—Both ends broken. Ext. 1.91 cm. ; h. 21 cm. ; t. 20 cm. Rounded top and flat base. Cross-like floral design and a fragmentary compartment with four human figures at the bottom.[11] Inscription (1.28 cm.) already published by Burgess.[12] It runs as follows (Pl. I. 54) : ...*kasa sa-dutukasa dānaṁ āga*[13]......

(d) *On Pillars* (55-59)

55(52).—Top and bottom broken. L. 37 cm. ; ext. h. 100 cm. ; t. 15 cm. A half lotus medallion above the two running lions, below which runs the inscription (a. 33.5 x 22 cm.), in five lines, engraved on the rectangular part, the back of which is missing ; already published by Burgess.[14] The inscription

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10 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 49, No. 33.

11 The floral band bears some similarity with that on a few copings published by Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVIII.

12 Jas. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* (London, 1887), p. 102, and No. 26 on Pl. LVII.

13 The *akṣara ga* is not clear on the impression published by Burgess. [*Sa-du(hu*)tukasa.*—Ed.]

14 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 104 ; Pl. LIX, 39. Also his *Notes on the Amaravati Stūpa* (Madras, 1882), p. 22, wherein he says, 'The threshold of one of the temples outside the large one in the village is formed of a slab from the *stūpa*, and bears an inscription.' [L. 1—*[Pū*]vasela-nivāsino.*—Ed.]

(Pl. I. 55) since that time has suffered damages. Burgess reads it as follows :

1 [R]āyaselanivāsino vasibhūtasa
2 [Ma]hatherasa ayira-Bhūtarakhitasa [a]-
3 [te]vāsikasa Cula-ay[i]rasa ara[ha]-
4 [tasa] ayira-Budharakhitasa ate[vā]-
5 [si]niya bhikhuniyā Na[dāya] thaṁbho dā[na]

56(51).—Vertically split into two halves. L. (at base) 36 cm. ; ext. h. 134 cm. ; ext. t. 17 cm. Rectangular part of the shaft carved at the base with a *stūpa* surmounted by *chatras*. A *Nāga*-figure on the left hand face and *caitya*-arch with three-barred railing on the opposite face. Originally, as the inscription on it records, meant for carrying the *dharmacakra*. The inscription refers to a Buddhist sect, the Pūrvaśailīyas, also mentioned in an inscription from Alluru,[15] a Buddhist site in the Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh. Inscription (a. 38 × 42.5 cm.), on the octagonal part, has already been edited.[16] It runs as follows :—

1 ... ... [va]chara
2 pa ... ... 8 divase
3 prathame 1 ... ... ka koḍubikasa
4 Khaḍa-nāgasa sa-[ga ?] rakena agalokakena Viraṇasa
5 [17]putena amakhana

15 *ARIE*, 1924, No. 331. [See Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, 1939, pp. 328-30 : also in *JDL*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI, 1935.—Ed.]

16 P. Seshadri Sastri, 'Dharanikota Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription', in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV (1937-1938), pp. 256-60; also see B.Ch. Chhabra 'Agalokaka and the Kingdom of Agni,' in *Dr. B.C. Law Volume*, Part I, pp. 170-72. The inscription is not illustrated here. The missing back part of the pillar has since been traced out and pieced together. The back part contains a Kannaḍa inscription of the eleventh-twelfth century A. D. [Cf. better transcript in *Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.*, p. 259 and notes.—Ed.]

17 Inserted later.

6 atalerena Dhaña[ka]ḍasa mahāvihāre puva-dare pava-

7 jitāna[ṁ] bhik[khu]-sa[ṁ]ghasa Puva-seliyāna nigāyasa

8 parigahe dhaṁma ... ... yo padiṭhapita sava-loka

9 sat[**]va-hita-su[khā]ya ... ...

57(162-1 and 2).—Rectangular fragment with rounded top; bottom broken. L. 29 cm.; ext. h. 60 cm.; t. 10 cm. Inscription (a. 24.5 × 10 cm.) in three lines (Pl. I, 57):

1 ... ... no aya Kuḍa (?) ku ... ...

2 ... ... ra[sa] bhariyāya Balāma ... ...

3 ... ... thabho

58(230/155-1).—Top as well as undressed bottom missing. Octagonal shaft split into two. Ext. h. (finished part) 118 cm. Inscription (1.36 cm.) (Pl. I. 58) -*[sa-bhar]iyasa sa-putakasa sa-duhutaskasa tha[bho]*

59(703).—Colossal limestone pillar lying to the south of the *stūpa*. Top broken. Lower part octagonal; upper part circular. Ext. h. 396 cm.; t. across ext. base 107 cm. Inscription engraved mildly (1.76 cm.) is enclosed within a rectangle (9 × 7 cm.): *Reyatasa*. Engraved longitudinally, the inscription is preceded and followed by a vertical line. It may either be a mason's name or a pilgrim's record.

(e) *On Dome-slabs* (60-62 and 64)

60(55).—A large dome-slab (Pl. III) originally consisting of two panels, the upper one now mutilated. L. 90 cm; ext. h. 124 cm.; t. 13 cm. The lower horizontal compartment depicting the scene of worship of the Bodhi tree. A weather-worn inscription (a. 88 × 11 cm.) in three lines (Pl. I. 60) below the above-mentioned panel. Though very much defaced and indistinct, a few words like *sidham* on the margin and *rājño*

Gotamapu[trasya] śrī-Yajṇa-Satakaṇisya at the beginning are fairly clear. At least it is certain that the record belongs to Gautamīputra Yajña-Śātakarṇi. The inscription is written in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit. The tentative reading is as follows.—

1 Sidhaṁ[18] rājño Gotamapu[trasya] Śrī-Yajṇa-[Sa]-
takaṇisya saṁvatsare ... ... vāsa-pa 5 divase 8
Ujjayini-upasakena
2 Jayilena ... ... mahācetiye ... ... kāritam ... ...
3 ... ... Dhanakaṭa-cetiya ... ...

61(61 and 191/217).—Originally found in fragments, but now pieced together. L. 92 cm. ; reconstructed h. 232 cm. ; t. 15 cm. The photograph (Pl. IV) published here belongs to the major fragment bearing the Museum accession No. 61. In sculptural contents, it is similar to the previous one. It is divided into three horizontal compartments, depicting, from bottom upwards, the worship of the Bodhi-tree, *cakra* and *stūpa* respectively. The most intact piece of such dome-slabs is in the British Museum and has a height of 7 ft. 10 in. (239 cm.).[19] The inscription (Pl. I. 61) in three lines (a. 90×8.5 cm.) at base reads as :

1 Sidhaṁ namo (bha*)gavato jibudeva vajasaka-
bhaga(va*)ta dhanuparanatone maha-cetiye ...
putasa Bodhikasa sa-pitukasa sa-matukasa [sa]-
2 bhagineyasa Budharakhita-tatiya-putasa
Vidhikasa sa-pitukasa sa-matukasa sa-bha ...
kasa putana ca sa-saṁghasa culi-saṁghasa
3 ... ... patiṭhāpita

62(68).—A broken slab depicting *pūrṇa-kumbha*. Right side missing. Ext. h. 90 cm. ; ext. t. 11 cm. Inscription (a.

18 In the margin between lines 1 and 2.

19 Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London, 1954), p. 68, No. 59, Pl. XX (a). [See below on Ins. No. 61.—Ed.]

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46

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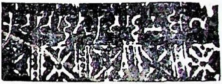
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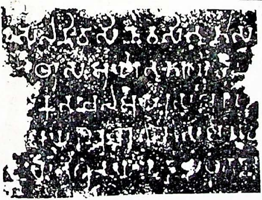
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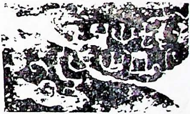
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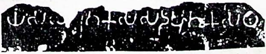

58

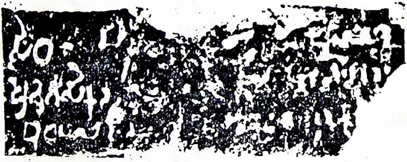
59

Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum, Nos. 45-59 (pp. 2-7).

PLATE III

60

61



62

63 i

63 ii

Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum, Nos. 60-63 (pp. 7-9).

64

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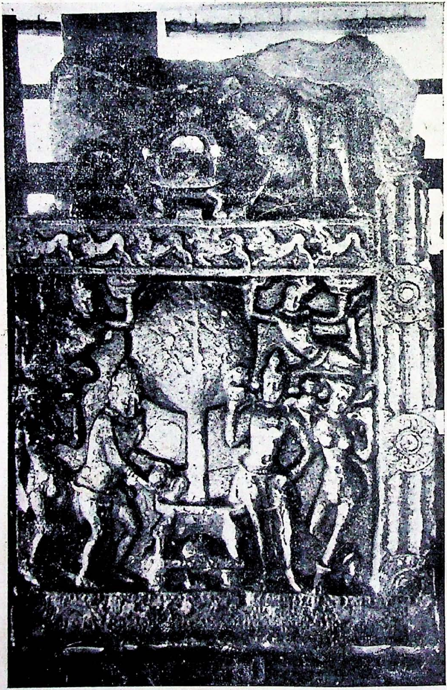
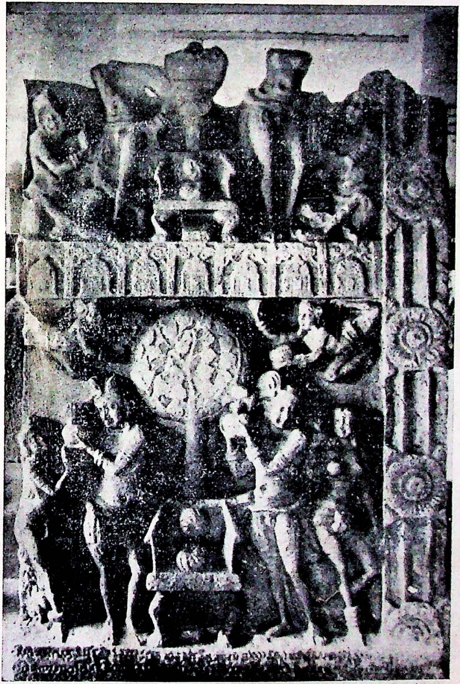
69

70

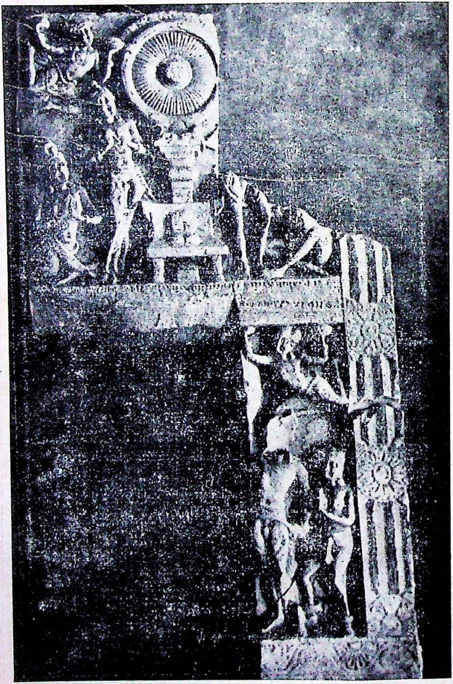
Inscriptions in the Amravati Museum, Nos. 64-70 (pp. 9-11).



Inscription of Yajña-Śātakarṇi on Dome-slab of Stūpa in the Amaravati Museum



Inscribed Dome-slab in the Amaravati Museum



Inscribed Dome-slab in the Amaravati Museum

39×13 cm.) completely weather-worn (Pl. II. 62). Three words in three lines – *sidham*, *atevasika* and *Budha* respectively are fairly distinct.

64(188/219-1, 2 and 3).—Dome-slab, similar to Nos. 60 and 61 above, in four fragments (Pl. IV). L. 90 cm.; h. 172 cm.; t. 8 cm. But the extant slab is divided by an inscribed central band into two horizontal compartments, the upper depicting the worship of the *dharmacakra* and lower presumably of the Bodhi-tree. The inscription (a. 70×7.5 cm.) is defaced and mutilated (Pl. II. 64). The content of the inscription as given in the *ARIE* is as follows: 'Seems to refer to two *saṁghārāmas* and mentions the son (name lost) of Bhadaya (Bhadrārya)'.

(f) *Drum-friezes* (63 and 71)

(63185/470).—A drum-frieze of green limestone (Pl. VI). Right side broken. Ext. 1.112 cm.; h. 35 cm.; t. 18 cm. A wavy garland at the top and a row of animals at the bottom. Space in between divided into vertical compartments by fluted pilasters with half lotus medallions at the top and bottom. The compartments depict (i) water, (ii) Bodhi-tree, (iii) *dharmacakra*, and (iv) *stūpa* with Nāgas, the last three evidently standing for the Enlightenment, First Sermon and Death of the Buddha. On this analogy, the first one may be taken to symbolize the Anotatta lake associated with Māyā's conception.[20] The inscription (1.99 cm.) at the base (Pl. II. 63),[21] preceded by a *triratna* symbol, reads—

Sidham Theriyānā mahā-vinaya-dharasa therasa bhayata-Budhisa atevāsikasa Jahara-bhikhuno haṁghasa haṁghāya ca culi-haṁghāya ca d[e]ya-dhama pato sa ... ...

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20 This has been suggested by A. Ghosh.

21 Cf. *ARIE*, No. 60.

71.—Fragment of a sculptured frieze (Pl. VII) found recently about a kilometre to the south-east of the *stūpa*-site. Ext. 1.94 cm. ; h. 35 cm. ; t. 12 cm. Like the previous specimen, an animal frieze runs below the panel. The central panel shows a seated figure on a throne, flanked by two figures—one seated on a stool with a dagger in one of his hands on the sinister side and the other a standing figure in folded hands in the dexter. There are five pillars with lotus medallions on either side of the above-mentioned panel. A mutilated figure of a standing male, a dagger or sword in his hand, on the extreme left and the carving of a *stūpa* on the extreme right (the intact side) are also to be seen. The fragmentary inscription (1.38 cm.) reads as : ...... *tasa ca* ...... *sa* ...... *patimaṇa*···*vācayatehī patiṭhapito.*

(g) *On Sculptured Fragments* (65-66 and 70)

65(569/435).—A sculptured fragment. Ext. 1.20 cm. ; ext. h. 15 cm. ; t. 7 cm. Inscription (a. 18.8 × 6 cm.), in three lines (Pl. II. 65), at the base :

1 [Sidham] [De]vana ··· ··· putasa puraga ···

2 timita Budhavana ... deya

3 ... ...

66(570/477).—Fragment of a sculpture. Ext. 1.24 cm. ; ext. h. 26 cm. ; t. 15 cm. Inscription (a. 19 × 6.5 cm.) on the base (Pl. II. 66), in two lines :

1 ... ... sa-bhatukasa sa-bhaginikasa

2 ... ... [Dha]ñakaṭa-mahā-ce(ti*)ye ... ...

70 (295/478).—A sculptured fragment. On the extreme sinister side is a faceted pilaster on a *ghaṭa*-shaped base resting on a four-tiered square pedestal. To its dexter side is a lotus-calyx and some leaves. The mutilated and defaced inscription (a. 25.8 × 11 cm.) in two lines (Pl. II. 66) :

1 ... Sahaputasa [na] ha ...

2 ... ...

(h) *Other Fragments* (67-69)

67(233/143).—Trough of green limestone. L. 68.5 cm. ; h. 20 to 22.5 cm. Inscription (1.8 cm.) consisting of three signs (Pl. II. 67 : *Cho 60 ni*). *ARIE* takes it as a mason's mark.

68 (519). – Small fragment of an indeterminate object. Ext. l.11 cm. ; ext. h. 9.5 cm. ; ext. t. 4 cm. Inscription (a. 9.5 × 6.2 cm.) (Pl. II. 68), as read in *ARIE* is as follows :—

1 ... [tano]

2 ... ta saha ...

3 ... ... [sa] ...

69(530/354).—Rough slab of limestone. Ext. l.14.5 cm. ; ext. h. 32 cm. ; t. 4.5 cm. Inscription (a. 19.5 × 9 cm.), written indifferently, is very much indistinct (Pl. II. 69).

Though the majority of the inscriptions are fragmentary, their donative character is obvious, as they record gifts of some component or the other pertaining to the rail or the *stūpa*. It seems that some of the architectural components, specially the small cross-bars, with ill-defined tenons belonged to the minor *stūpas* having their own railings.[22] Other categories of inscriptions include masons' names (45-47) and the numberings on cross-bars (48-52).

Of all the inscriptions, No. 60 is the most important from the point of view of the history of the sculptural art of Amaravati, as it contains an inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Yajña-Śātakarṇi. These slabs, on stylistic considerations, have been placed in the period from 100 to 150 A. D. ;[23] on the other hand, the present inscription shows that this type of dome-slabs came into existence only during the last quarter of

22 A. Rea excavated a few of them. See his 'Excavations at Amaravati,' in *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1905–06 (Calcutta, 1909), pp. 118-19.

23 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, No. II. C-1 to 13.

the second century A. D., when the vigorous art-tradition of Amaravati had shown signs of decline. Incidentally, the inscription may also show that Sanskrit became the language of epigraphs in the Āndhra region even before the Ikṣvāku times.

The bulk of the epigraphs (45-47, 53-54, 57-64 and 71) can be dated palaeographically to the second century A.D. But No. 55 engraved on a pillar may be ascribed to the first century because of the absence of curves at the end of *a*, *ka*, and *ra*, and the use of somewhat archaic forms of *ca*, *ta*, *la*, *ja* and *va*. Some of these features are noticed also in Nos. 63 and 71 although *a* and *ra* in the former show curved ends ; the equalization of upper verticals has not been followed in either case despite the fact that the *akṣaras* have serifs. Perhaps the inscriptions on drum-friezes, both of them having the same height, may be dated to the first half of the second century A. D. In the same period, will fall the inscriptions under Nos. 53, 54, 58 and also possibly 62. On the other hand, Nos. 60, 61 and 64 have to be placed in the last quarter of the second century on the basis of the inscription of Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi found on a dome-slab (No.60). Here one notices the curved ends of the verticals in *ka* and *ra*. Nos. 48-52 and 56 may be ascribed palaeographically to the third century A.D. It is, thus, clear that the later phase of the Amaravati *stūpa* may be divided into three or four sub-phases.

No attempt has been made here to evolve any chronology based on the material now housed in the Amaravati Museum, because it represents just a part of the total collection from the site. A chronological scheme based on a partial collection is bound to be imperfect, and also unscientific. However, it is fairly certain that the pre-Christian phase of the Amaravati *stūpa* had at least two sub-phsses : Aśokan, and post-Aśokan *i.e.*, second-first century B.C. Further, some re-adjustment in the chronology of the Amaravati *stūpa*, even for its last two

phases,[24] is certainly necessary specially in the light of a dated dome-slab (No. 60) and the labelled inscriptions of the pre-Christian times ; but the new chronology must take into account the entire collection from Amaravati, irrespective of its location in different museums.[25]

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24 It has been recently stated that there is a general agreement among scholars about the last two phases of the Amaravati Art. See Douglas Barrett, 'Early Phase at Amaravati,' in *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 37-48. But even these two phases require readjustment on the basis of the evidence in the Amaravati Museum.

25 [The suggested reading of the initial part of No. 61 is doubtful. Possibly *jibudeva* is *Jaṁbudiva* (i.e., *Jambūdvīpa*) and *dhanupara* is *dhatu* (i.e. *dhātu*)-*pari*·. The concluding part of line 2 is in Sanskrit *putrāṇāṁ c=āsya Saṅghasya Kṣudra-Saṅghasya* [*ca*]. The concluding part of No. 63 is in Sanskrit *Saṅghasya Saṅghāyāḥ ca Kṣudra-Saṅghāyāḥ ca*. No. 70 has *saha putena*, 'together with his son'.—Ed.]

THE CASTE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

ADHIR K. CHAKRAVARTI

Cambodia is one of those few countries which in ancient times underwent profound Indianization. It is therefore expected that the principal socio-economic institutions of ancient India would establish themselves more or less solidly in Cambodia as well. That is why, from the very beginning of epigraphic studies in Cambodia, scholars have turned their attention to the question of the prevalence of the caste system in ancient times.

More than one hundred years ago, Lassen stated in unequivocal terms that it would be useless to seek traces of caste system in ancient Cambodia or, for the matter of that, in other countries of what we call Greater India. He writes : "Eben so wenig wie in andern Staaten Hinterindiens, kann man in Kamboja Kasten erwarten, weil die Brahmanen niemals in diesen Ländern mächtig genug wurden um ihren Gesetzen dort Eingang zu verschaffen."[1] This statement was made when Cambodian epigraphy was still to see the light of day. Since then, inscriptions have told us of no more than ten Indian Brāhmaṇas who came to settle in this land. One can at best add to this a tradition, according to which some Brāhmaṇas of Vārāṇasī immigrated to Cambodia through Java.[2]

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1 Christian Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. IV, p. 411.

2 *Explorations et missions de Doudard de Lagrée*, p. 40. According to a tradition, however, "the Khmers of Cambodia belonged to this Kāmāri (Khāmāri) clan of the Kambojas of India" (B. R. Chatterji, 'A Current Tradition among the Kambojas of North India relating to the Khmers of Cambodia', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIV, 1964, p. 254).

There is much confusion with regard to the functioning of the caste system so much so that one may even question the propriety of using the word caste in the Cambodian context. This is why a study of the terminology used to signify the social groups will be useful.

The term which merits our attention first is *varṇāśrama.* The Cambodian kings, particularly of the Aṅkorian period, showed themselves very much anxious for the conservation of *varṇāśrama.* Thus Yaśovarman enjoins the following for the observance by his descendants, the future kings of the country :

sanātano bhūmibhujāṁ hi dharmmo
dharmma-sthitīnāṁ parirakṣaṇaṁ yat |
varṇṇāśramāṇāṁ sura-pūjanānān=
daṇḍyeṣu daṇḍaś=ca yath-āparādham ||[3]

Again, in the inscription of Prasat Koṁphus of Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the brother-in-law of king Jayavarman V, it is stated that the king established, like the Creator Himself, the good system of the castes and of the *āśramas* :

digrāja-vandyo............
dhāt=eva varṇṇāśrama-sadvyavasthāṁ
kṛtvā rarām=eśvara-mantra-mārggaiḥ ||[4]

These references seem to 'be more of a theoretical nature because the first pertains to the pious wish of a king while the other forms part of a eulogy and as such, should not be taken seriously. This impression appears to be corroborated by the following description of the kingdom of Jayavarman VII :

ślāghyāṁ bhuvaṁ puṇya-bhuvaṁ maheśa-
maharṣi-varṇṇāśrama-kīrttan-āḍhyām.[5]

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3 Tep Pranam inscription, D, v. 102, *Journal Asiatique* (*J A*), Serie X, Vol. XI, 1908, pp. 213-14.

4 Inscription of Prasat Koṁphus, v. 21, in George Coedes's *Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC)*, Vol. I, p. 164.

5 Inscription of Prasat Cruṅ, south-east corner, v. 70, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 215-26.

Since Jayavarman VII was an ardent Buddhist, there is no reason for him to take special pride if his kingdom was really following the precepts of *varṇāśrama* as known to the Brāhmaṇical law books. But it is also known that the Buddhists recognize theoretically the existence of the four *varṇas* or castes.[6] Thus it appears more probable that he has used the traditional description of the division of society into four castes without really meaning it seriously. The term *varṇāśrama* occurs in another damaged inscription of the reign of Jayavarman VII.[7]

If *varṇāśrama* signifies, in general, the fourfold theoretical division of society, there are at least two references where the word has acquired an unexpected and highly technical meaning of which there is no Indian parallel, either in literature or in epigraphy. First, a royal edict of Sūryavarman I contains the word twice, and Coedes would explain the passage in question as follows: "Let the divers classes (*varṇāśrama*) residing on this territory be exclusively under the authority of the bearer of the *āśrama*: the *khloñ* must not call them for work nor demand of them the payment of the quantity of raisin [as tribute]. Let the people called after their names (*varṇāśrama*) assure the tribute to be paid to Liṅgapura."[8] It may be noted that in the above translation the word *varṇāśrama* has not been

6 Cf. R. Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time* (trans. S. K. Maitra), pp. 17-20. [For the maintenance of the *varṇa* order by the Buddhist Pālas of East India, see *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 36.—Ed.]

7 Stele of Phimanakas, v. 38, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 166. L. Finot ('Inscriptions d'Aṅkor', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient* (*BEFEO*), Vol. XXV, p. 91) could not read it.

8 Inscription of Prasat Srañe, ll. 12-13. In the light of the hypothesis formulated in the text, the translation of the passage may be modified. Further, Mrs. S. Lewitz, Professor of Cambodian Language at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris, has suggested to us that the word *nau* at the beginning of the passage has here a declarative—and not its usual locative—value. The word may be translated by 'with regard to'.

rendered consistently, and Coedes has admitted it.[9] Everything depends, in fact, on the identification of the people mentioned as *varṇāśrama*. The inscription first of all speaks of the slaves offered to the *āśrama*. Is it that the people of 'divers classes' were identical with these slaves ? At first it seems to be so since between lines 6-7 and 12-13, the inscription does not mention any new persons. On the contrary, to make the slaves responsible for the tax to be paid to K. J. Liṅgapura, evidently by exploiting the fields of the *āśrama*, would be tantamount to regard them as tenants of the *āśrama*, a status much higher than could be generally accorded to the slaves. In fact, it may be asked whether there is an opposition between the slaves (*khñuṁ*) whose grouping is indicated by the same word as used for a herd of cattle (*thpal*) and *varṇāśrama* which would then denote free men entrusted with the furnishing of the dues to the god, K. J. Liṅgapura, the master of the *āśrama*. That the attribution of *varṇāśrama* entails a change in the social and economic status of an individual can be shown from an official act, also of the reign period of Sūryavarman I. In this inscription[10] the king compels the family of Vap Mau to give up the possession of the land of Vibheda in favour of Sukarṇa Kaṁsteñi. In exchange, the family of Vap Mau receives the land of Raṅgol. After the transaction was over, the king 'prescribed that these people (the family of Vap Mau) formed henceforth part of the *varṇa* and of the *āśramas*' (*pandval pre dau jā varṇṇāśrama*). This translation leaves much to be desired. In the first place, the inscription gives the precise information about the status of Vap Mau and his family before they had received the land of Raṅgol. It states that they were the men of Kaṁsteṅ Śrī-Mahīdharavarman of Vraḥ Sruk (*anak Kaṁsteṅ Śrī-Mahīdharavarman vraḥ sruk*) and the country of Vibheda

9 *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 50, No. 8.

10 Praḥ Vihar, K. 360, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 261.

was part of the heritage of Mratañ Śrī-Pṛthivīnarendra and was actually in the possession of Kaṁsteṅ Śrī-Mahīdharavarman (*sruk vibheda mṛtakadhana mratañ Śrī-Pṛthivīnarendra kaṁmu-ṅ kaṁsteṅ Śrī-Mahīdharavarman vraḥ sruk*, western door-jamb, 1.23). Taking the two together, it may be concluded that, because of their utilization of the land of Vibheda, the family of Vap Mau stood in the relation of serfs *vis-a-vis* Kaṁsteṅ Śrī-Mahīdharavarman. That is why as soon as Vap Mau and his family were dissociated from this land, they were automatically freed from the bond of serfdom with regard to the Kaṁsteṅ. What is more, they now held land directly from the king, thus elevating themselves to the rank, if not of freeholders, at least of direct tenants of the king. The attribution of caste status was indicative of this change. A similar phenomenon happened in India also through the ages. Assimilation of Nonaryans or of foreign invaders in the Brāhmaṇical social system was often followed by their appurtenance to some particular castes.[11] But what seems to be original in Cambodia is the use of the term *varṇāśrama* to signify this change.

During the Aṅkorian period, *varṇa* was commonly used to describe social divisions. As a matter of fact, inscriptions often mention the word in an extremely vague manner.[12] There are, however, some specific references which leave no doubt that the Indian theory of the fourfold caste system was well known to the authors of these inscriptions. Thus the king Harṣavarman II is said to have increased the joy of the four *varṇas* beginning with the Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇ-ādi-caturvarṇṇa-*

11 Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population', *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp. 3-37 ; reprinted in *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, pp. 267-328. See particularly pp. 292-93, 294, 300, 301-02, 304-05, 310-11, etc. See also J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (4th ed.), pp. 26-27.

12 Cf., for example, v. 124 of the Pre Rup inscription, *IC*, Vol. I, pp. 91 and 122.

harṣaṁ saṁvardhayan guṇaiḥ).[13] The edicts of the hospitals of Jayavarman VII declare in unequivocal terms that the people belonging to all the four *varṇas* will be admitted in the hospitals for treatment (*cikitsyā atra catvāro varṇāḥ*).[14] There is one inscription which betrays knowledge of the creation of the four castes by Brahman the Virāṭ-puruṣa. The same verse shows that its author was conversant with the fictitious derivation of the term *Kṣatriya* given by Kālidāsa.[15] The verse runs as follows :

Kṣatāt paritrāṇa-vidhāna-liṅgā
kṣatr-oktir = eṣ = Ābjabhuvo bhujād = vaḥ, etc.[16]

Though the four-caste system was known, it is to be noted that so far no formal enumeration of the castes has been found in the inscriptions. Of the Indian castes, only the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya are mentioned in the inscriptions. It is true that sometimes reference is to be found to three castes[17] or even to the three high castes,[18] thus implying the existence of the Vaiśya caste, which in its turn presupposes the Śūdras as forming the fourth and despised caste. On a closer scrutiny, however, this conclusion does not hold good. In the first place, the Ban That inscription is extremely fragmentary at the place where the word *varṇa-traya* occurs. Secondly, the three castes mentioned in the Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription do not refer to the three high castes of the Brāhmaṇical system, but to the three principal *sañjaks*, if one is to follow the translation of Coedes.[19]

13 Prasat Prāṁ, door-jamb south, v. 9, *BEFEO*, Vol. XIII, No. 6, pp. 17-26.

14 Say Fong, v. 19, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 16.

15 *Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 53.

16 Pre Rup, v. 290, *IC*, Vol. I, pp. 104 and 141.

17 I. 46, *BEFEO*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 10 (Finot, *Notes d'Epigraphie*, p. 206).

18 Kompoṅ Thoṁ, K. 444, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 64.

19 For a different interpretation, see Appendix below.

Further, it speaks of seven castes (*sapta-varṇa*) in connexion with the recruitment of the roots (*mūla*), i.e., the first members of the two newly created castes. This fact alone, it may be presumed, goes to prove that the author of the Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription had a totally different idea as regards the caste denominations.

It will thus be clear that the fourfold division of castes was only theoretically valid in ancient Cambodia. In reality, society was divided at least into seven castes. If, however, the castes of the three principal *sañjaks* were not included in this list, the number of castes has to be increased to at least ten, without taking into consideration the sub-castes which often passed as forming so many castes. Thus the inscription of Prasat Beṅ speaks of the formal consecration of the seven castes (*abhiṣeka sapta varṇa*)[20] so that they can be divided among the corps of pages (*pi cek dau jā paṁcāṁ kaṇmyaṅ paṁre*). Since there are numerous references to the caste of pages,[21] it follows that the seven castes of the inscription of Prasat Beṅ were in reality so many sub-castes under the category of caste of pages.[22]

After *varṇāśrama* and *varṇa*, the term which deserves to be studied is *jāti* with its variants *jātaka* and *jāta*. Thus in the pre-Aṅkorian inscription of Hin K'on, a curse is pronounced

20 K. 989, *IC*, Vol. VII, p. 175.

21 Ta Keo (B), v. 12, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, pp. 300 and 303 ; Praḥ Vihar (A), v. 12, *Inscriptions sanskrites du Champa et du Cambodge* (*ISCC*), No. LXI, p. 534 ; Prasat Kok Po door-jamb inscription, No. III, v. 8, and door-jamb inscription, No. V, ll. 1-2, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 400 and 404 ; Sdok Kok Thoṁ 3.66, *ibid.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 87.

22 Evidently the sevenfold division of castes as mentioned either by Megasthenes (R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 224-26, 236-38, 263-64 and 267-68) or by Ibn Khurdadbah about 1500 years later (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17 and 74-93) does not have any bearing on the seven *varṇas* mentioned in the Cambodian inscriptions.

against anybody who will be tempted to appropriate what the founder of the religious establishment has offered to the four *jātis* (*cātur-jjātyai*).[23] There is no doubt that the four castes of the Indian type are meant here. The Lovek (B) inscription also states that Harṣavarman III gave his subjects peace and in lieu thereof demanded of them observance of the duties of the four *jātis* (*prajāḥ caturjjāti-kriyā-yuktyā yaś=śāntiṁ prāpayattarām*).[24]

Whether the same can be said with regard to *jātaka* and *jāta* is doubtful. The master-founder (*ācārya yajamāna*) in the pre-Aṅkorian inscription of Trapaṅ Thoṁ is qualified as *cātur-jātaka-pramāṇa*[25] which Coedes takes to mean 'one who serves as model for the four castes'.[26] With regard to *jāta*, it may be pointed out that the inscription of the stele of Trau Tasar, also pre-Aṅkorian in date, mentions *kñuṁ cāturjjātaṁ*.[27] It is tempting to translate the passage as slaves belonging to the four castes. But then, it is wise to remember, slavery for the Brāhmaṇas was forbidden.[28] In the hopelessly mutilated inscription

23 K. 388 (A), v. 3, *IC*, Vol. VI, p. 75.

24 V. 30, *ISCC*, No. XVII, p. 132.

25 *IC*, Vol. II, pp. 135-36.

26 As has been pointed out by Coedes (*loc. cit.*, p. 136, note 5), it is not absolutely impossible to take the expression in its dictionary meaning of 'composed of four substances'. In that case, *ācārya yajamāna* of the text must have no syntaxical relation with *cāturjātaka-pramāṇa* which should then give the details of the price of the land. From what remains of the text, it is learnt that the slaves, cocoanut trees and arecanut trees were given as items of price of the land (*pass jaṁnau*, B, l. 1, p. 135). The lacunae preceding *tāṁ* (B, l. 4) could very well have contained the fourth component substance of the price.

27 K. 705, *IC*, Vol. V, p. 31.

28 Cf. Kātyāyana on the authority of Bṛhaspati (ll. 715–17): *triṣu varṇeṣu vijñeyaṁ viprasya na kvacit || samavarṇo=pi vipraṁ tu dāsatvaṁ n=aiva kārayet | Brāhmaṇasya hi dāsatvaṁ nṛpa-tejo vihanyate ||*

See also *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra (ed. Ganganath Jha, Baroda, 1942, pp. 74 and 309): "If the Brāhmaṇa is made a slave, the glory of the king suffers diminution."

of Nak ta Svay Damba,[29] the word *cāturjāta* occurs twice ; but it is impossible to glean any meaning out of it.

A propos jāti and the cognate terms in use in ancient Cambodia, two observations can be made. First, these terms were mostly used in pre-Aṅkorian epigraphy, while the expression *varṇa* was more favoured in later ages. Can this change-over be attributed to hazard only ? If it is not so, the statement becomes all the more significant because of the fact that an evolution in the inverse sense took place in India. *Varṇa* here changed imperceptibly into *jāti*.[30] Secondly, while the number of *jāti* is always given as four in Cambodia, that of the *varṇa* is not fixed and seems to have been rather numerous. It is well known that the position is exactly opposite in India. In fact, it has been stated that "Castes are born and wither away, fuse together or split into smaller castes, but the same *varṇas* mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* endure. The relation then, of *varṇa* to caste is that of the sacred and enduring to the empirical and the ephemeral."[31] In the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to offer any satisfactory explanation for these differences. It may, however, be due to the perpetration of the confusion in the use of the terms *varṇa* and *jāti*. It is likely that, in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era, Indians going to Cambodia (and somewhat later also the

29 K. 903, *IC*, Vol. VI, p. 70.

30 In ancient India, the confusion was constant in the use of these two terms though the preference was rather for the word *jāti*. Thus *rāmā*, according to the *Nirukta* XII. 13, is a *kṛṣṇa-jātīyā* woman, while the *Vasiṣtha Dharmasūtra*, 18. 17–18, describes her as *kṛṣṇava-rṇā*. As example of *jāty-antāc – cha bandhuni* (Pāṇini, V. 4.9), is cited *Brāhmaṇajātīya*. The different Dharmasūtra and Dharmaśāstra texts (e. g. Gautama, XI. 20 ; Vas., I.17, XIX.7 ; Manu, I.118, III.15, VII.177, VIII.41, IX.86 and X.41) use *jāti* to indicate *varṇa*. The late *Śukranītisāra* ignores the word *varṇa* and uses exclusively the word *jāti* (IV.3.21-30).

31 T. R. Trautmann, 'On the Translation of the term *Varṇa*', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 196-201.

Cambodians who might have made a voyage to India) brought with them ideas about Indian social life. They might have tempted to establish the fourfold division of society ; but since they were accustomed in India to using the word *jāti* to signify the social groups, they used it in Cambodia even when they really meant *varṇa*. It is further likely that, in Cambodia also, the originally established social groups underwent the same metamorphosis to which they had been subjected to in India. In other words, the purely professional Cambodian *jātis*, were later so reformed as to indicate, generally speaking, hereditary and functional groups under administrative control of the king. Thus transformed, they came to be called, again due to the same terminological confusion, *varṇa*.

The question that naturally arises is whether the *jāti-varṇa* system of ancient Cambodia can be regarded as similar to the Indian caste system, either as it is described in the Dharma-śāstras or as it prevails in actual life. The frequent mention of the Brāhmaṇas and more scarce references to Kṣatra or Kṣatriya in the inscriptions make a *prima facie* case for the prevalence of the caste system of the Indian type in ancient Cambodia. To judge whether the Cambodian social divisions were actually of Indian origin or were even inspired by the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, it is necessary to analyze the characteristic features of the *jāti-varṇa* system of Cambodia as revealed in the inscriptions.

What strikes most even a casual student of Cambodian social history is the idea of gradation which pervaded all social categories and strata. It appears that society was divided into two broad mutually antagonistic classes. Thus the Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription states that women of the two newly created *varṇas* of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* and *karmāntara* will have to be given only to good men (*anak ta uttama*) for the service of Śiva ; in no case shall they be taken by men of low birth (*hīna-*

jāti).[32] The term *hīna-jāti* is here contrasted with good men ; but the more apt contrary term *sujāti* is also found in inscriptions.[33]

What was the criterion to distinguish between the men of good birth and the *hīna-jāti* ? The same inscription of Kompoṅ Thoṁ (B) provides with the answer. It forbids giving away in marriage the women of the two newly created *varṇas* to men of *hīna-jāti* because from such union will be born the *anak khloñ* (*pi pañjā anak khloñ*),[34] i.e., those who earn their livelihood by means of manual labour.[35] It may thus be surmised that the people of *hīna-jāti* were also condemned to hard work ; otherwise how could children born of the union of women of the *varṇas* of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* and *karmāntara* with them be particularly stigmatized ?

It appears that, in Cambodia, the status of *varṇa* was the exclusive privilege of the men of good birth (*sujāti*). As has been already indicated, the status of *varṇāśrama* was denied to the slaves (*kñuṁ*) in the inscription of Prasat Srañe[36] while a Praḥ Vihar inscription tends to show that even serfs were debarred from the membership of the *varṇa*. Vap Mau and his family were admitted to *varṇāśrama* only when they became direct tenant of the State.[37]

The *varṇas* again were divided into good and ordinary ones. To quote the same Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription : "A question of details. Besides [the people belonging to the authority of]

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32 Kompoṅ Thoṁ(B), ll. 2-3, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 64.

33 E. g., the inscription of Prasat Saṅkhaḥ (K.218, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 47) applies the term to qualify king Sūryavarman I.

34 *Loc. cit.*

35 See Appendix. Other probable meanings of the expression *anak khloñ* have been suggested by us in our study of the social economy of ancient Cambodia to be published soon.

36 *Loc. cit.*

37 *Loc. cit.*

the three principal *sañjaks* of the king who alone can take them, it is forbidden to give them to the people of the *sañjaks* who are candidates for [the parasol with] golden rod." These latter again are contrasted with the three good castes (*varṇṇa uttama piy*).[38] Taking the two statements together, it seems logical to conclude that only men of the three principal *sañjaks* were considered as belonging to the three good castes. Those who were left out of this charmed circle should not be regarded as belonging to so many pariah castes since in this category come the men of the three *sañjaks* who are candidates for the parasol with golden rod. Indeed the inscription of the oath of fealty to Sūryavarman I makes it clear that all *sañjaks* irrespective of ranks stood in a special relation to the king[39] and, as such, the *varṇas* to which they belonged could not be considered low or bad. Hence the three good *varṇas* are to be contrasted with an unspecified number of ordinary *varṇas*.

It is to be noted that the idea of the three good *varṇas* after the Indian pattern was known.[40] Of these the place of honour was held by the Brāhmaṇas. Thus an inscription of the 7th-8th century A.D. from Vat Ph'u declares the Brāhmaṇa as Brahman himself (*Brahm=eti vipraḥ*).[41] An inscription from Kdei Aṅ of the reign period of Rājendravarman (944-68 A.D.) makes not a very distant echo of the theory of the creation of the four castes as given in the *Ṛgveda*, X. 90. It calls the author of the inscription *agrajanman* (the first born).[42] The Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyadāman is also called by this epithet in the Sdok Kok Thoṁ inscription (verse 27).[43] The pretension of

38 *IC*, Vol. II, p. 67 ; see also the Appendix.

39 The inscriptions of the eastern Gopura of Phimanakas (K. 292), *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10. See particularly p. 209, note 1.

40 Cf. *varṇa-traya* in the Ban That inscription, Sarga I, v. 46, *loc. cit.*

41 K. 876, v. 3, *IC*, Vol. V, p. 11.

42 C. III, l. 23, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 10.

43 *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, p. 79.

the Brāhmaṇas to be considered the sole worthy beings is found in the inscription of Ban That which describes the sage simply as *varṇin*.[44] There are again other inscriptions where birth in the Brāhmaṇa family is eulogized. By way of example may be cited the case of Śivasoma, the *guru* of king Indravarman (877-89 A.D.). He describes himself as born in a Brāhmaṇa family (*vipra-sambhava*).[45] Further, it is said of a master who served the kings from Yaśovarman (889-900 A. D.) to Jayavarman IV (921-42 A.D.) that he was born in a family wherein pure Brāhmaṇas had succeeded one another (*nairantaryy-āgate-śuci-dvije... vaṁśa-bhūḥ*).[46]

References to the kingly caste are much rarer. The term Kṣatriya is to be found only twice in the whole range of Cambodian inscriptions.[47] The word used more frequently to indicate the king or his lineage is Kṣatra (and its derivative *kṣātrī*). This implies that only actual wielders of royal power were regarded as belonging to this group. In any case, if it be admitted that the Khmer king was an absolute despot, at least from the strictly constitutional point of view, it is not very likely that very many people, if at all any, shared power with him. In all likelihood then the term *Kṣatra* denoted only the ruling king who was venerated as the teacher of the world and, as such, was even superior to the Brāhmaṇas over whom he claimed priority in the matter of being received in the different Yaśodhar-āśramas.[48] It may be noted that the *rājaputra* and

44 Sarga II, v. 18, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

45 Prasat Kantal Dom (K. 809), v. 40, *IC*, Vol. I, p. 40.

46 Prasat Andoṅ (K. 675), v. 29, *ibid.*, p. 64.

47 Pre Rup, vv. 8 and 16, *ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

48 *Sa hi viśvambhar-ādhīśas=sarvva-loka-gurus=smṛtaḥ |*
yad=iṣṭan=tasya tat kuryyād=Vyāsa-gītam=idaṁ yathā ||
sarvva-loka-gurūn=c=aiva rājānaṁ yo='timanyate |
na tasya dattan=na kṛtan=na śrāddhaṁ phalati kvacit ||
atha dvijo='dhikaṁ pujyaḥ, etc., *ISCC*, No. LVI (Thnāl Baray) C, vv. 1-3.

the ladies of the royal harem had an inferior social status *vis-a-vis* the *dvija* and the heads of the four *āśramas*.[49] It may thus be concluded that though the idea of exalted kingship existed in ancient Cambodia, the Kṣatriya as a caste or even caste-like group was not known.

It has been pointed out earlier that there is not even one single mention of the Vaiśya or the people's caste in the Cambodian inscriptions. It may then be safely stated that the *varṇa-traya* mentioned in the Ban That inscription did not correspond to a social reality and may be taken as an attempt to make Cambodian society conform to the orthodox Indian pattern. The three good *varṇas* mentioned in the Koṁpoṅ Thoṁ inscription, on the other hand, reflect a state of things with which the Indian Dharmaśāstras had nothing to do.

These *varṇas* are sometimes hereditary as may be shown from the fact that those who formed the nuclei of the two castes in the Koṁpoṅ Thoṁ inscription referred to above were called *mūlas*.[50] Then, in another inscription[51] where there is no question of the creation of a new caste, certain members of the *varṇa* Muṣṭiyuddha bear this title, while others of the same generation do not. It is plausible to think that those who are given the title are all descendants of the first members of the caste. Later, however, it will be seen that not every descendant of the first members of a *varṇa* group was given the title of *mūla*.

Because of the proneness of the *varṇa* distinction to become hereditary, it is quite natural that aristocracy of birth, which possibly existed independent of the institution of *varṇa*, would be further extolled. This is true of the pre-Aṅkorian as well as

49 *Ibid.*, C, v. 4, and D, l. 13 (*ibid.*, p. 425).

50 *Loc. cit.*, A, l. 16 ; *IC*, Vol. II, p. 64.

51 Prasat Car (K. 257), door-jamb north, ll. 2-5, 7, 15, etc., *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

of the Aṅkorian period. In the pre-Aṅkorian times, Muni Īśānadatta, a contemporary of Īśānavarman I (616-35 A.D.) claims to have been born in a celebrated family (*khyāta-kul-odgata*).[52] Jñānacandra, an *amātya* of king Jayavarman I (657-81 A.D.) calls himself *kulīna*.[53] Parameśvaravallabha, who is credited to have made some religious foundations during the reign of Jayavarman I (781 A.D.), qualifies himself as *kul-odbhava* in the inscription of Lbok Srot.[54] These pretensions multiply in the Aṅkorian period. Pride is taken in the birth in a particular family or dynasty.[55]

Even a cursory glance over the different *varṇa* names will convince anybody that these were mostly functional in character. The question thus arises : to what extent were the *varṇa* groups at the same time hereditary and functional in character ? No precise answer to this query can be given in the present state of our knowledge. All that can be said is that so far as the sacerdotal caste is concerned, it was mostly so. In other words, the caste affiliation of the Brāhmaṇas was there and they had the privilege, sometimes exclusive, of following some specific functions. In the pre-Aṅkorian times, according to the inscription of Tan Kraṅ, the post of *hotṛ* was made hereditary in the family of Dharmasvāmin (*hautriyād = avyavacchinnā santatir =*

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52 Ang Pou, v. 3, *ISCC*, No. VIII, p. 49 = Vat Po (K. 22), *IC*, Vol. III, p. 144.

53 Tūol Kok Praḥ, v. 3, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 149.

54 V. 2, *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

55 Cf. (i) the *praśasti* of Śivakaivalya: *gurur=garīyān=udit-odite='bhūd =dhiyo=dito='nindita-vaṁśa-varyye* (Sdok Kok Thom, v.28, *BEFEO*, XLIII, p. 78) ; (ii) *mātā-pitṛ-vaṁśajāḥ nirddoṣām*, Prasat Kok (K. 339), v. 31, *IC*, Vol. V, p. 167 ; (iii) *vaṁśe pratīta-śuddhe sañjāto jāta-vikramaḥ*, Vat Praḥ inscription of Tuk Caḥ (K. 702), *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 224 ; (iv) *udit-odita-vaṁśajaḥ*, Tūol Ta Pec (K. 834), v. 43, *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 253 ; (v) Jñānapriya Āryamitra was born in a pure dynasty (*śuddh-ānvaya*), Phum Da (K. 139), v. 8, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 179.

yyasya n=ānyataḥ).[56] For the Aṅkorian period there is the classic example of the maternal family (*mātṛ-vaṁśa*) of Śivakaivalya which, according to the inscription of Sdok Kok Thoṁ, enjoyed the exclusive right of performing the service of Devarāja.[57] Then again, the function of *phjuḥ* or *phjuḥ purohita* of the Karateṅ Jagat Kadeṅ was reserved for the family of Steṅ Rau by order of Jayavarman II.[58] The Ta Keo(B) inscription states that by order of Sūryavarman I the office of *hotṛ* of the god Śrī-Kapāleśa was made exclusive in the family of Śivācārya.[59] The inscription of Vat Thipedi reveals that the family of Praṇavātman held for generations the post of royal *hotṛ*.[60] The Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription, already referred to, records that from among the suitable members of the two new castes of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* and *karmāntara* will be recruited

56 V. 9, *IC*, Vol. I, p. 9.

57 V. 21 has been recently studied independently of each other by M. Claude Jacques (*Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* for the years 1967 and 1968) and the present writer. In matters of detail, there is difference between ourselves ; but both of us have pointed out the serious mistake in Finot's translation (*Notes d'Epigraphie*, p. 304), perpetuated by Coedes (*BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, p. 96), regarding the words *striyo vā*. Our reading of the stanza and the translation thereof are :

tan-mātṛ-vaṁśe yatayas=striyo vā
jātā vidhāv=akrama-yukta-bhāvāḥ /
tad-yājakās=syur=na kathañcid=anya
iti kṣitīndra-dvija-kalpan=āsīt //

"Let the *yatis* or the women born in this *mātṛ-vaṁśa*—and none else—be appointed priests at this rite without any order of preference. Such was the regulation of the king and of the Brāhmaṇa." Our study entitled 'Un reexamen de la stance XXXI de l'inscription de Sdok Kok Thoṁ' will be published soon.

58 *Vraḥ śāsana pre santāna steṅ rau ta phjuḥ purohita kamrateṅ jagat kadeṅ*, Prasat Beṅ (K. 989), B, l. 10, *IC*, Vol. VII, p. 175.

59 *S'rī-Kapāleśa-hotṛtve sva-kulena rāja-śāsanāt /*
sthāpayāmāsa yaḥ kṛtvā nityaṁ viṣaya-varjjitam //—v. 9, *ISCC*, No. XV(B), p. 106.

60 Regarding this family, see Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

teachers to teach the sciences at the capital city.[61] The regular functions of the two castes seem to have consisted respectively in ceremonial ringing of the bell in the sanctum sanctorum[62] and the performance of the obsequial rites.[63] In all these cases, caste and occupation do not militate with what is known of the duties of the Brāhmaṇas in the Dharmaśāstras. In practice, however, it is found very often that the members of the same family followed different professions, as much spiritual as wordly, and belonged to different *varṇas*.

The divorce between *varṇa* and profession can be detected as early as the time of Jayavarman I. As has already been seen, by royal order the family of Dhruvasvāmin enjoyed the unique privilege of furnishing *hotṛ*. But the inscription continues to state that the eldest son of Dharmasvāmin held succes-

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61 A, ll. 16-18, *IC*, Vol. III, p. 64.

62 The word *khmuk* is evidently derived from *kuk* which in modern Khmer will be pronounced very much like *kok*. The word may thus be related to Bahnar *kok* which, according to Guilleminet, means a wooden bell without clapper (*Dictionnaire Bahnar-Francais*, Vol. I, p. 421). Hence *khmuk* may very well denote the priest charged with the ceremonial ringing of the bell. *Vraḥ* signifies the idea of sacredness. See Paul Levy in *Melanges d' Indianism*. *Kralā* means 'area, site' (cf. Coedes in *IC*, Vol. V, p.223).

63 The view of J. Gonda that *karmāntara* means funeral ceremony ('Begräbnisfeier', "Altind. åanta-, åantara-, usw.", *Bijdragen*, Vol. XCVII, 1938, p. 475) has been accepted by Coedes (*IC*, Vol. II, p. 62, note 8). K. Bhattacharya, however, thinks that the view of Gonda is nothing but a hypothesis. According to him, from the contexts where the word occurs, no precise meaning can be drawn ("Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscription sanskrites du Cambodge", *BEFEO*, Vol. LII, No. 1, pp. 18, 37). But the Sdok Kok Thom inscription (4.62) seems to suggest that *karma-dharma* signified the obsequial rites. If *dharma* stands here for 'rite', the funerary idea is conveyed by *karma*. Thus there is nothing inherently improbable in the view of Gonda and Coedes. It may, however, be pointed out that *karma-dharma* in the passage cited may mean the act of *dharma*, and the word *dharma* had often a funerary association in the Cambodian inscriptions (vide Coedes in *BEFEO*, Vol. XL, pp. 324-331). ['Act of *dharma*' is *dharma-karman*.—Ed.

sively the offices of *Mahāśvapati* (verse 11) *Bhojaka* of Śreṣṭhapura (verse 12) and lord of Dhruvapura (verse 14) while his younger brother Pracaṇḍasiṁha was in charge of the recruitment of the personal guards of the king (*nṛp-āntaraṅga-yaudhānānāṁ pārigrāha*, verse 16) and head of the oarsmen (verse 17).[64]

Things are not very different in the inscription of Prasat Beṅ, issued some five hundred years later.[65] Though it states that the family of Steṅ Rau was entrusted with the office of *phjuḥ* or *phjuḥ purohita* of K. J. Kadeṅ, as already seen, some later members of the family were described as *bhāgavata* servants employed in the royal bath (*jā bhāgavata paṁre vraḥ kralā sroṅ*, B, line 12). The immediate ancestors of Kṣetrajña of the same family acted as barbers (*vraḥ kṣora*, B, line 21) and were posted at the royal bath. The inscription of Kuk Sla Ket mentions a Kṣetrajña who, was well versed in the rules and the five rites, but performed the function of royal barber (*kalpajñaḥ pañcakālavit . . . kṣurakarmmaṇi kalpitaḥ*).[66] Considering the nearness in time of these two Kṣetrjñas (both being contemporary of Rājendravarman), and the identity of the function mentioned, it is likely that they are also identical. It may, in this connexion, be observed that service in the royal bath house is prescribed exclusively for *dāsīs* by Kauṭilya.[67]

One member of the family of Steṅ was superintendent of the pages in charge of holding the fan (*paṁre trvāc kanmyaṅ paṁre nā pamak*, B, lines 26–27) ; another was the guardian of the royal sword (*trvāc kanmyaṅ paṁre vraḥ khān*, B, line 28) ;

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64 Inscription of Tan Kraṅ, *loc. cit.*

65 *Loc. cit.*

66 See v. 28, *IC*, Vol. V, p. 121.

67 I. 18 : *snāpaka-saṁvāhak-āstaraka-rajaka-mālākāra-karma dāsyaḥ kuryuḥ*, etc. The *Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka* (IV. 361) mentions with aphoristic brevity a ceremonial royal bath in which the Brāhmaṇas "lie for love of money under the bed of kings ; the latter bathe over them after a Soma offering is ready. Bathers (*malamajjana*) they resemble... ..."

still another was made commander of the army of the centre (*kanmyaṅ paṁre senāpati kantāl vala*, B, line 29).

The evidence of the inscription of Kuk Trapāṅ Sruk[68] is particularly interesting for an understanding of the structure of the *varṇa* system *vis-a-vis* function in ancient Cambodia. According to it, the ancestors of Vāgīśvara-paṇḍita and Divākara-paṇḍita, possibly the famous priest who anointed the kings Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I and Sūryavarman II, pursued different occupations and sometimes a change in profession entailed a change in their *varṇa* denomination also. The family seems to have started in the reign period of Indravarman as *purohita* of Śrī-Jalāṅgeśvara (i.e., Būos Praḥ Naṅ, Coṅ Prei) and of Candanagiri (i.e., Praḥ Bāt, Coṅ Prei, B, line 2). Chloṅ Vijaya, head of the family during the reign of Jayavarman-Paramavīralaka was made *sarvāyudhapati* (in charge of the royal arsenal) and, after an exhibition of physical prowess by overwhelming a buffalo, was given the name of Vraḥ Kamrateṅ Aṅ Śrī-Vīraparākrama and assigned to the *varṇa* of superintendent of young servants with the rank of *senāpati* (*varṇṇa pañcāṁ kanmyaṅ paṁre jā senāpati*, B, line 17). His successor in the maternal line, V. K. A. Śrī-Kavīśvara-paṇḍita, became *guru* (teacher) in the four *tapovanas* situated at Īśvarapura, Śivapura, Śrī-Sūryaparvata and Śrī-Jalāṅgeśvara, while his elder brother, V. K. A. Śrīkaṇṭha-paṇḍita, became professor at Śivapāda (B, line 23-24). Later Sūryavarman I appointed V. K. A. Kavīśvara-paṇḍita his *guru* and placed him in the *karmāntara varṇa*. Nothing is known of the *varṇa* status of his successor, V. K. A. Śrī-Vāgīśvara-paṇḍita who held the posts of *hotṛ* of Harṣavarman III Sadāśivapāda and *guru* of the queen Harṣalakṣmīdevī (D, lines 2-3). His full brother, V. K. A. Divākara-paṇḍita, however, is said to have belonged to the *karmāntara* caste (A, vertical right, line 1).

68 K. 91, *IC*, Vol. II, pp. 129-30.

This will make it clear that *varṇa* denoted sometimes hereditary groupings, sometimes functional groupings, and sometimes, though neither necessarily nor perhaps even generally, both. In fact, the inscription of Prasat Trapãn Run mentions heredity and profession, along with knowledge and wealth, as independent elements contributing to social pre-eminence (*kula-karmma-śruti-dravyair=unnata*).[69]

Inscriptions throw some light on the organization of the *varṇas*. Reference has already been made to the *mūlas* whom the Kompon Thom inscription represents as the first members of a *varṇa*. It has also been seen that the descendants of the first members may be called *mūla*. The position is made clear by the evidence furnished by the inscription of Prasat Ben, which indicates unequivocally that only certain members of the family of Sten had the distinction of being called *mūla*.[70] It may thus be concluded that after the creation of a *varṇa* group, the *mūlas* consisting of either founder-members or their selected descendants, formed something like a council of the *varṇa*. These *mūlas*, as may be shown from the Prasat Car inscription, were empowered to act in the name of the *varṇa* as a whole.[71] That some such organization was there is clear from the Kompon Thom inscription when it states that the members of the two *varṇas* (lit. 'fruits of the lineage') "must not henceforth recognize any other authority than that of the chiefs (*khloñ*) of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* and *karmāntara* ([*vvaṃ*]*āc ti mān nā svatantra ta dai ti leṅ* [*khloñ*] *khmuk vraḥ* [*kralā*] *arccana nukhloñ karmmāntara* [*pradvan dau*] ...]).[72] The precise function of the chief lay perhaps in the administration of the property which belonged to the *varṇa* group as a whole. In the discharge of

69 V. 29, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64

70 *Loc. cit.*

71 K. 257, door-jamb north, ll.2-6, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 144, which describes the purchase of certain things for a *mandira* with the help of money borrowed (*pul prak*) from Mratāñ Khloñ Śrī-Narapativarman.

72 A, ll. 23-24, *loc. cit.*

his responsibility, he might have been assisted by the *mūlas*.

Further light on the organization of the *varṇas* is thrown by two inscriptions. First, the inscription of Sdok Kok Thoṁ informs us that Sadāśiva-Yogendrapaṇḍita was appointed *khloñ karmmāntara eka*,[73] i.e., chief of the Karmāntara *varṇa* assigned to the first province of the State which was under the direct administration of the king.[74] It appears that the *varṇas* also were subjected to the same principle of fourfold division of the administrative machinery. Secondly, the inscription of Ta Keo (B) makes it clear that Śivācārya was appointed the head of the castes (*varṇṇa-śreṣṭhatva-saṁsthitaḥ*).[75] The precise nature of the function of this supreme chief of all castes is not unfortunately explained in the inscription.

The characteristic features of the *jāti-varṇa* system of ancient Cambodia described so far are to be found in India as well. But to be able to pronounce judgement on the presumed relationship between the *jāti-varṇa* system of Cambodia and the *varṇāśrama-dharma* of India, it is imperative to see if they agree in certain other fundamental aspects. It is well known that in India pride in caste manifests itself in the form of taboo on commensality and connubium, to which is sometimes added the question of untouchability. Be it noted at the very outset of this inquiry that in the whole range of Cambodian epigraphy

73 4.45, *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, p. 90.

74 Cf. P. Dupont, *ibid.*, p. 122, note 3.

75 V. 8, *ISCC*, No. XV, p. 106. See also the following verse :
dadhat Praṇavaśarvvas=sa śrīnṛpedrādivikramam |
nāma bhoga-yutaṁ prāpa paṁcāṁ varṇṇeṣv=adhiśatām||

—Ta Keo (K. 534), B, v. 12, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, p. 300=Praḥ Vihar (A), v. 12, *ISCC*, No. LXI, p. 534. *Paṁcāṁ varṇṇeṣv=adhiśatām* has been taken by Finot to mean supreme chief and guardian of castes (*BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, p. 300, note 6). But on the basis of the evidence furnished by the inscription of Prasat Beṅ already quoted, it may be stated that Praṇavaśarva was appointed chief (*adhiśatām*) of the guardians (*paṁcāṁ*) who were divided into various *varṇas*. Thus the verse cannot be taken to establish that there existed a supreme chief standing over all the *varṇas*.

there is not one single reference to untouchability. In fact, Caṇḍāla, who, according to the authors of the Dharmaśāstras, is the offspring of the worst type of *pratiloma* marriage (i.e., union of a Brāhmaṇa girl with a Śūdra male),[76] is the personal name of a slave in a pre-Aṅkorian inscription.[77] But no specially uncharitable reference to his function is made here.

On the question of commensality, Cambodian inscriptions, written both in Sanskrit and in old Khmer, do not lay down any specific interdiction. On the other hand, the inscription of Prasat Kantop[78] seems to refer to a community feast given on the occasion of laying the boundary stones of a piece of land. Coedes thinks that the meal was served to those who had met for the occasion (evidently as judges and witnesses as was the custom in such transactions).[79] Normally such persons could not have been very numerous ; but the inscription records that, among other things, the flesh of two swine, 800 big fishes and 2000 bowls were necessary for the feast. The consumption of the huge quantity of foodstuff would justify the assumption of a large number of participants. This hypothesis can also be directly deduced from the text which says that those who were present to witness the ceremony were all *aṁcās* of the people of the villages of Thpal and Jeṅ Canhvar, and they were all related to one another by blood kinship (*aṁcās anak thpal jeṅ canhvar phoṅ jā kule anak si strījana phoṅ*, door-jamb north, line 26). The word *aṁcās* should here be understood not in the sense of old men (as has been done by Coedes), but in its modern sense of 'master, proprietor' or, better, 'a householder'. The passage would then imply that all the householders, men and women,

76 Gautama, IV.17 ; Manu, X.12, 17 ; Yāj., I.93.

77 Prasat Naṅ Khmau (K.765), l.7, *IC*, Vol. V, pp. 53–54.

78 K.353, door-jamb north, K, ll. 31–34, *ibid.*, p. 137.

79 Cf. the inscriptions of the Prasat Trapaṅ Ruṅ (Śaka 928), B, ll. 21-31, etc., *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 67-68 ; Prasat Kok Po, door-jamb V, ll. 18–35, 49-66, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 405–07 ; Vat Prah̤ Einkosei, K. 262, door-jamb south, ll.8-16, *IC*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-12.

of the two villages were kins. This is, however, little likely. If, even then they partook of food together, this might have been due to the absence of all restrictions on commensality.

True to the Indian theory of castes, the confusion of *varṇa* (*varṇa-saṅkara*) is condemned in Cambodia and, following their Indian counterparts,[80] the Cambodian kings took upon themselves the task of maintaining the purity of the *varṇas*. In the earliest epigraphic mention of the prevention of *varṇasaṅkara*, sober history is obscured by rhetoric exuberance :

nakh-āṁśu-daṇḍaiḥ pādo=pi yasya namra-mahībhujām |
mauli-ratn-āṁśum=avadhīd=varṇṇa-saṅkara-kāriṇam ||[81]

More pointed is the reference contained in the Pre Rup inscription of Rājendravarman. The subjects of Rājendravarman were well known for their complete freedom from confusion of castes (*viditā varjjitā varṇṇa-saṅkaraiḥ*).[82]

In ancient India, there were different schools of thought as to what constituted *varṇa-saṅkara*. Thus, according to Nārada, XII. 102, only children born of *pratiloma* marriage were considered *varṇa-saṅkara*. According to some others like Bṛhaspati, children of all mixed marriages fall within this category.[83] But

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80 Gautama, VIII.3, defines the *dharma* of the king as *prasūti-rakṣaṇam =asaṁkaro dharmaḥ* ; cf. also Vas. XIX.7–8 ; *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*, III.3 ; Medhātithi on Manu, X. 61 ; Nārada, XII.113 ; Yāj., I.361, etc. In the Nasik inscription of the regnal year 19 of the Śātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Puḷumāyi, it is claimed that the king prevented the confusion of the four castes (*vinivatita-cātuvaṇa-sakarasa*, or *saṅkarasa*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp.60-61 ; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1st ed., p. 197). [The epithet is applied to Puḷumāyi's father.—Ed.]

81 *ISCC*, No. LVIII, pp. 454 and 463, Thnal Baray (B), v. 12.

82 V. 140, *IC*, Vol.I, pp. 92 and 124.

83 *Pratilom-ānulamāś=ca te jñātvā* (possibly a mistake for *jñeyā* as suggested by P.V.Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.II, p. 59) *varṇa-saṁkarāḥ*, Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vyavahāra-prakirṇaka* section of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (MS. examined by Kane). K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar's ed. (Vol. XII, p. 811) has : *pratilom-ānulomāś=ca tair=yutā varṇa-saṁkarāḥ*.

the most comprehensive formulation comes from Manu according to whom "mixed castes arise by members of one *varṇa* having sexual intercourse with women of another *varṇa*, by marrying women who ought not to have been married such as a *sagotra* girl, and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's *varṇa*".[84] In the light of this enunciation, marriage was to be contracted within the *varṇa* and outside the *gotra*. Cambodian history, however, tends to show that marriage did not generally fulfil either of these conditions. It may be said that although the term *gotra* is sometimes found in inscriptions, it does not usually convey the idea of blood kinship. What is more, no inscription known so far has anything to say about the role of *gotra* in marriage.

No precise information can be gleaned from inscriptions regarding the prohibited degree of marriage on either side of the parents. There are at least two sure examples of cross-cousin marriage. Pṛthivīndradevī, the mother of Indravarman, was the daughter of the maternal uncle of Pṛthivīndravarman, the father of Indravarman.[85] There is, again, the example of the Khloñ vala Kamrateṅ Aṅ Loñ Hāradharma (said to be an ancestor, *aji*, of Indravarman) who married his daughter Teṅ Pavitra to his nephew (*kanmvay*) Kamrateṅ Aṅ Vraḥ Mūla.[86] It may be noted in passing that such cross-cousin marriages

84 *Vyabhicārena varṇānām=avedyā-vedanena ca /*
sva-karmaṇāñ=ca tyāgena jāyante varṇa-saṁkarāḥ// [X. 24.—Ed.]

85 The stele of Praḥ Bat, vv. 11-12, *ISCC*, No. XLV, p. 365. Pṛthivīndravarman is described as the *bhāgineya* of Rudravarman (v. 12) while his wife is called the daughter of the latter (*śrī-Rudravarmm-āvanipāla-kanyā*, v. 13). There is little room for doubt that the two Rudravarmans were identical. The genealogical table which Dupont gives at the end of his article in *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 17-55, does not, however, indicate clearly that Rudravarman and the mother of Pṛthivīndravarman were brother and sister, though this is conceded in the text (p. 36).

86 Vat Saṁroṅ, ll.13-14, *IC*, Vol. VII, p. 130.

were permitted by Baudhāyana as a typical South Indian custom.[87]

Regarding marriage within the *varṇa*, it cannot be stated that such was the general rule. All that the Koṁpoṅ Thoṁ inscription enjoins is the interdiction of marriage with the *hīna-jāti*.[88] Beyond this, there appears to have been no restriction with regard to the marriage of the women of the two *varṇas* concerned. As has been already seen, this, in the particular context, would signify that these women could be given in marriage with 'good men', i.e., those having a *varṇa* affiliation. Thus, when on the advice of the *muni*, the father of Tilakā-Vāgīśvarī (also called Bhagavatī in the inscription of Prasat Tor, v. 46, *IC*, Vol. I, p. 236) arranged her marriage with the Vedic scholar Namaśśivāya, it may be a case of *savarṇa* marriage in the Brāhmaṇical sense.[89] But the Koṁpoṅ Thoṁ inscription recommends without any ambiguity the marriage of the women of the *varṇas* of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* and *karmāntara* with the men of the three principal *sañjaks* constituting the three good castes as ideal. Since these two castes had their own chiefs (*khloñ*), it may be safely concluded that they were not considered as belonging to the three principal *sañjaks* and *ipso facto* excluded from the three good castes. In other words the Koṁpoṅ Thoṁ inscription recommends *anuloma* marriage as ideal.[90]

In fact the traditional history of Fou-nan, the predecessor State of Tchen-la or Kambuja, begins with a mixed marriage. The Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya marries Somā, the daughter of the king of the Nāgas and starts the first royal dynasty of Cambo-

87 *Mātula-pitṛṣvasṛ-duhitṛ-gamanam* I. 2.3.

88 *Loc. cit.*

89 Ban That inscription, Sarga III, vv. 7-12, Finot, *Notes d'Epigraphie*, p. 211=*BEFEO*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 15.

90 See note No. 38 above, and Appendix.

dia.[91] According to a later tradition, the kings of Tchen-la-Kambuja regarded their eponymous ancestor Śrutavarman as descended from the *Ṛṣi* Kambu and the *apsaras* Merā.[92]

In historical times, Brāhmaṇas, particularly those coming from India, often married in royal families. Thus, Somaśarman, the moon among the Brāhmaṇas (*dvijendur = ākṛti-svāmī*) married the daughter of Vīravarman and sister of king Bhavavarman I of Tchen-la.[93] Durgasvāmin, a native of the Deccan and proficient in the *mantra*, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras and *Taittirīya*, was honoured by Īśānavarman I by the gift of his daughter (*sutā-sampradānena*).[94] Cakrasvāmin was the husband of Śobhājayā, the daughter of Jayavarman (probably Jayavarman I). He is described as *vedānta-taittirīyaka pārago Madhyadeśajaḥ*.[95] Sarasvatī and Vedavatī, the two distant ancestors of Rājendravarman were married to the Brāhmaṇas, Viśvarūpa and Dvive-

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91 Inscription of Mi-son, No. III, vv. 16-18, *BEFEO*, Vol. IV, pp. 919-20 ; Baksei Camkroṅ, v. 16, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 90. For a vivid account of the tradition in the now-lost report of K'ang T'ai and Tchou Ying, see Pelliot in *Etudes Asiatiques*, Vol. II, p. 243, and R. Stein in *Han-Hiue* (Bulletin du centre sinologique de Pekin), Vol. II (1947), p. 258.

92 Baksei Camkroṅ, vv. 11-12, *loc. cit.* The importance of the tradition is borne out by such names as Kambuja, Kambuvaṁśa, Kambupurī, etc. (cf. Finot in *Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique d' Indochine*, 1911, p. 34). It may be noted that both the traditions of Kauṇḍinya-Somā and Kambu-Merā bring us back to the Pallava court. As Coedes has already pointed out (*BEFEO*, Vol. XI), the first tradition is recorded in inscription No. 644 of Kielhorn's *Inscriptions of Southern India* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, Appendix) and in a charter of Nandivarman III found in the North Arcot District (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 521). For a different view of the origin of the Nāgī Somā tradition, see J. Przyluski in *Etudes Asiatiques*, Vol. II, pp. 265-84. The tradition of Kambu-Merā is mentioned in an inscription from Amarāvatī (Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 28). V. Goloubew was the first to point it out (*BEFEO*, Vol. XXIV, p. 508-10).

93 Veal Kantel, v. 1, *ISCC*, No. IV, p. 30.

94 Sambor Prei Kuk (K. 438), v. 3, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 27.

95 Stele of Western Baray (K. 904), A, v. 3, *ibid.*, p. 58.

dabhaṭṭa, respectively.[96] Śivasoma, the *ācārya* of Indravarman, was the son of the daughter of Śrī-Jayendrādhipativarman, the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II.[97] The son-in-law of Rājendravarman was a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa-Divākara who in his childhood seems to have played on the banks of the Kālindī.[98] Yajñavarāha, the celebrated *guru* of Jayavarman V, was the sun of the *vipra* Dāmodara, and the daughter of king Harṣavarman I.[99] As is indicated by his little, Yogīśvarapaṇḍita was a Brāhmaṇa. He married the daughter of king Sūryavarman I and queen Vīralakṣmī.[100]

To take now a few examples of what would pass for *pratiloma* marriage in India. Jayavarman II married quite a number of girls from the sacerdotal families. At least names of four such wives are known. They are Bhāsvāminī of Āmalakasthala,[101] Hyaṅ Pavitra of Haripura,[102] Prāṇa-Kambujalakṣmī of the family of Piṅ Svaṅ Grāmavatī[103] and Teṅ Pavitra of the family of Thpvaṅ Rmmāṅ.[104] Jayavarman IV and Sūryavarman I also are known to have received wives from the last-named family.[105] The two sisters, Jayadevī and Indradevī, became successively the chief queen (*vihit-ābhiṣekā*, verse 95) of Jayavarman VII. Indradevī describes herself as *dvijātmajā*.[106] The royal chaplain Hṛṣīkeśa-Jayamahāpradhāna

96 Pre Rup, vv. 7-8, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 78 and 106.
97 Prasat Kantal Dom, door-jamb south, v. 30, *ibid.*, p. 39.
98 Stele of Praḥ Einkosei (K. 263), face C, v. 31, *ibid.*, Vol IV, p. 126.
99 Sek Ta Tuy, door-jamb north, v. 13, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 53.
100 Stele of Saṁroṅ (K. 258), C, v. 4, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 186.
101 Ta Keo (A), v. 2, *ISCC*, No. XV, pp. 103 and 108-09.
102 Ta Keo (B), v. 3, *ibid.*, pp. 106 and 112.
103 Praḥ Vihar, v. 5, *ibid.*, No. LXI, p. 534.
104 Prasat Beṅ (K. 989), B, l. 14, *IC*, Vol. VII, p. 176.
105 *Ibid.*, B, ll. 20 and 31.
106 *Dvij-ātmajā rājakul-ottamā yā Yaśodharāyāṁ puri rāja-kāntā*—the big stele of Phimanakas, D, v. 100, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 173 = Finot, *Notes d'Epigraphie*, p. 197.

had given his daughter in marriage to king Jayavarman VIII who conferred on her the pompous title *Cakravartirājadevī*.[107]

Regarding the status of the children born of mixed marriages, it may be said that they did not suffer from any disability inherent in the circumstances of their birth. Śivasoma, the daughter's son of Jayendrādhipativarman, probably by a Brāhmaṇa, had the unique fortune of learning the scriptures from the mouth of *Bhagavat* Śaṅkara (Śaṅkarācārya). He later became the *ācārya* of king Indravarman.[108] The example of Yajñavarāha is more categorical on this point. He was, as has already been noted, the son of one appointed the *śāst·ānugrāhako guru* of Jayavarman V.[109] In the same way, Yogīśvara-paṇḍita II, daughter's son (*naptṛ*) of Yogīśvara-paṇḍita I, son-in-law of Sūryavarman I, was the *hotṛ* of Udayādityavarman II, *hotṛ* and *ācāryakādhīśvara* of Jayavarman VI and *guru* of the latter's queen Jayadevī.[110] It may be argued that these are all examples of *anuloma* type of marriage. But to this objection, it may be pointed out that no stigma due to birth was attached to the progeny of the *pratiloma* type of marriage either. Otherwise, the genealogical tables of the priestly families which gave their daughters to the different kings and nobles of Cambodia could not have so prominently mentioned such marriages and the children born of such unions. In fact, all these families' claim to aristocracy and title over property rests to a large extent on such marriages.[111]

The question becomes more complicated when it comes to the determination of castes of the children born of mixed

107 The inscription of the temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṁ (B), v. 18, Finot, *Inscriptions d'Aṅkor*, p. 110=*BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, p. 398.

108 Prasat Kantal Dom inscription, vv. 39 and 29, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

109 *Loc. cit.*, v. 12.

110 Vv. 5-7, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 186.

111 With reference to the Praḥ Vihar inscription, see P. Dupont in *BEFEO*, Vol. XLVI, No. 1, p. 131). [In India, matrimonial relations of royal families were usually not governed by caste rules. See above, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff.—Ed.]

marriages. One thing can be stated right at the outset. No attempt was made in Cambodia to ascribe them to the so-called *miśra-varṇa* or *miśra-jāti*. In other words, children born of mixed marriages were given the theoretical *varṇa* affiliation either of the father or of the mother ; but from the evidence we have at our disposal, no uniform pattern emerges. As examples of children getting the caste name of the father in the *pratiloma* marriage may be cited the cases of the sons born of the girls of the family of Thpvaṅ Rmmāṅ to Jayavarman II, Jayavarman IV and Sūryavarman I. Their respective titles Kamsteṅ Śrī-Vikramāditya (B, lines 14-15), Kamsteṅ Śrī-Narapatīndravarman (B, line 20) and Kamrateṅ Añ Vīravardhana (B, line 33) leave no doubt that they were all considered Kṣatriya in the Dharmaśāstra sense of the term.[112] Special attention may be drawn to the name Śrī-Narapatīndravarman since the name-ending *varman* has been characterized as typical of the Kṣatriyas.[113] But then Yogīśvarapaṇḍita, son of Satyavatī, the granddaughter of Jayavarman II and Bhāsvāminī of Āmalakasthala, was the *guru* of king Sūryavarman I and, as such, doubtlessly a Brāhmaṇa.[114] Similar is the case with Paramācārya, the son of Hyaṅ Karpūrā, the granddaughter of Jayavarman II and Hyaṅ Pavitrā.[115] These two instances, however, cannot be taken to prove conclusively that the *varṇa* of the child was determined by that of the mother, because the father in each case (Bhānuvara and Divyantara respectively) was a Brāhmaṇa.

In the *anuloma* type of mixed marriages, the position is clear with regard to the non-royal cases. The father of Yajñavarāha was a *vipra* and mother a princess. But Yajñavarāha

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112 *Loc. cit.*

113 Manu, II.32.

114 *Loc. cit.*, v. 6. [Prasat Ta Keo, A.—Ed.]

115 *Loc. cit.*, v.5. [Prasat Ta Keo, E.—Ed.]

by virtue of his office of *guru* may be taken to have belonged to the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa*. The same logic applies to Yogīśvara-paṇḍita II of the inscription of Saṁroṅ already referred to. In such cases apparently prevails the maxim according to which the children born of a wife belonging to the caste coming immediately after that of the husband are regarded as *savarṇa*.[116]

There are, however, cases where children born of the *anuloma* type of marriage are given the caste affiliation of the mother, thus illustrating the principle *anulomās=tu mātṛ-varṇāḥ*.[117] Such is the case with Hiraṇyavarman, son of the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman and the sister of king Bhavavarman I in the Veal Kantel inscription.[118] His name betrays his Kṣatriya status. More complex is, however, the case of Sarasvatī and Vedavatī. Though they were given in marriage respectively to the Brāhmaṇa, Viśvarūpa and Dviveda-bhaṭṭa, their progeny came to regard themselves as Kṣatriya. Thus Mahendradevī, the mother of Rājendravarman, is introduced as *mātuḥ kṣatriya-vaṁśa-dugdhajaladher=llabdh-odoyā yāś=śriyaḥ*.[119]

Though there is no term in Cambodian epigraphy, which can be favourably considered identical with or comparable to any of the *miśra-jātis* mentioned by the authors of the Dharmaśāstras, one comes across sometimes with the expression *Brahmakṣatra*. On Indian analogy, the term may be understood to signify an individual (or a family) in whom there has been

116 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I. 16.6 : *tāsu putrāḥ savarṇ-ānantarāsu savarṇāḥ* ; Nārada, XII. 106 : *savarṇo Brāhmaṇī-putraḥ Kṣatriyāyām=anantaraḥ* ; Kauṭilya, III. 7 : *Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriyayor=anantarā-putrās=savarṇā ekāntarā asavarṇāḥ.*

117 *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*, 16.2.

118 *Loc. cit.* [*ICCI*, No. IV, p. 30.—Ed.]

119 *Loc. cit.*, v.16.

an admixture of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya blood.[120] Thus Yajñavarāha, the *guru* of Jayavarman V, qualifies himself as *Brahmakṣatra* :

Brahmakṣatreṇa ten=edaṁ vidyānāṁ pāra-dṛśvanā /
asmin Yajñavarāhena sthāpitaṁ liṅgam=aiśvaram //[121]

It may be recalled that Yajñavarāha was the son of *vipra* Dāmodara and a princess.

But the term *Brahmakṣatra* does not appear to have been used always in this traditional technical sense. On the contrary, it is used both in a non-technical and a specially restricted technical sense. As example of the first may be cited the case of the lineage of Sarasvatī and Viśvarūpa which the Pre Rup inscription characterizes as *Brahma-kṣatriyayor=vvaṁśe pāramparyy-odite tayoḥ* (verse 8). Since Viśvarūpa is known to be a *vipra*, the use of the dual number can be meaningful only if Sarasvatī be considered a Kṣatriyā.

There are at least two cases wherein *Brahma-kṣatra* is used to signify an independent caste denomination. The first of these occurs in the eulogy of Jayavarman I :

Śrī-Jayavarmaṇi nṛpatau śāsati pṛthvīṁ samudra-paryyantām /
Brahmakṣatr-āṁśa bhave nata-nṛpa-dhṛta-śāsane niyatam //[122]

There is no evidence to show that any of the ancestors, near or distant, of the king was a Brāhmaṇa.* As a matter of fact, nothing is known of the ancestry of the king. If in spite of this he can be called *Brahmakṣatra*, the expression then must have conveyed the idea of an independent caste. This hypothesis is apparently confirmed by a passage of the Mébon inscription which describes Sarasvatī, the distant ancestor of Rājendravarman, as "the glory of the *Brahmakṣatra* family

120 Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v. *Brahma-kṣatra* and *Brahma-kṣatriya* ; also *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, pp. 6ff.

121 Sek Ta Tuy, door-jamb north, v. 10, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 53.

122 Lobok Srot inscription (K. 134), v.1, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 92.

*[This is *argumentum ex silentio*.—Ed.]

(*Brahmakṣatra-parampar-odayakārī*).[123] It remains to be explained how Sarasvatī with whom only started the series of matrimonial alliances with the Brāhmaṇas could herself be of *Brahmakṣatra* origin, unless the term had an independent caste connotation. This, however, is a fallacious argument since it has been shown earlier that Sarasvatī was considered a Kṣatriyā. All that may be conceded is that the *Brahmakṣatra* was sometimes synonymous with *Kṣatriya*.*

It is, however, possible to show that the expression *brahmakṣatra* in the two passages quoted above has been used in its traditionally known technical sense. Jayavarman I as king of Kambuja and Sarasvatī as a princess could very well consider themselves *Brahmakṣatra* since tradition would make both of them descendants of Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya and Nāgī Somā on the one hand and of the *Ṛṣi* Kambu and the *apsaras* Merā on the other. It may thus be concluded that the term *Brahmakṣatra* did not denote an independent caste and far less an intermediate caste standing between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas following the principle laid down by Manu regarding the offspring of the *anuloma* marriages.[124]

To sum up : At least in the Aṅkorian period, society was divided, on the basis of participation in manual labour, into two broad and mutually exclusive classes of high and low *jātis*. The status of *varṇa* was a privilege of the *jātis* called high. Of the numerous *varṇas*, there were at least three which were regarded as good. These *varṇas* were often functional and tended to become hereditary. When the *varṇa* groups are both functional and hereditary, it is normal that pride in *varṇa* will manifest itself in the pride of birth. But since *varṇa* was not necessarily either, and the pride in birth has been a constant

123 See v. 10, Finot, *Inscriptions d'Aṅkor*, p. 24=*BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, p. 53.

* [Cf. *The Guhilas*, p. 10 and note 7.—Ed.]

124 Manu, X. 6.

factor in the social life of ancient Cambodia, it may be concluded that aristocracy of birth had been independent of the aristocracy of function which was structuralized by the institution of hierarchic titles.

Though the *varṇa* group had some sort of organization with a chief as its executive head, there is no evidence to show that the said council of *varṇa* or the executive head, the *khloñ*, could inflict punishment on any member transgressing the laws of *varṇa*. As a matter of fact, there appears to have been no *varṇa* restrictions either on commensality or on connubium.

In consideration of all this, can one possibly call the Cambodian *jāti-varṇa* system as having anything to do with the Indian caste system ? The answer to this question must have to be well guarded. All that can be conceded is that only the Brāhmaṇas in ancient Cambodia came closest, to an Indian caste. The Kṣatriya did not form any caste but represented the idea of kingship or the king as its concrete manifestation. With regard to the other *varṇas* of which one has cognizance in the Khmer inscriptions, it is perhaps not all too presumptuous to state that they were so many groups which had for their *raison d'etre* only administrative exigency. The statement requires further elaboration and this involves a discussion of the role of the king with regard to the *varṇas* at some length.

True to the Indian tradition, Cambodian kings theoretically took unto themselves the task of maintaining the *varṇāśrama-dharma*. The fragmentary pre-Aṅkorian inscription of Phnoṁ Da seems to indicate that the *dharma* of kings consists in the enforcement of the *varṇas* (*varṇṇa suniyukti-dharmmā*).[125]

The inscriptions of the Aṅkorian period are more specific

125 K. 549, ll. 31-32, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 156.

on the point. Kings are there shown as protector of the system of castes. Before undertaking the discussion in any detail, a note of precaution may be spelt out. The passages which will be quoted hereafter are almost without exception subject to *double entendre*. Because of this play on words, the historical value of such texts has certainly much diminished, since one is never sure whether the authors of these texts really intended anything more than what the passages apparently convey, nothing to speak of the interpretations one would like to give them.

Thus an inscription of Yaśovarman says that the king 'caused to increase the virtue in the ranks of all the *varṇas*'.[126] Elsewhere, the king flatters himself saying that 'he has been able to assure his subjects perfect social tranquillity whereas even during the reign of Rāma the Brāhmaṇas had been apprehensive of Śambuka'.[127] Still another text eulogizes him as having stabilized, like Prajāpati, the institution of castes :

Acyut-ārūḍha-padmāḍhyas...dimukha-rañjitaḥ /
varṇṇa-sthiti-vidhātā yaḥ [Pra]jāpatir=iv=ābhavat //[128]

The stanza is important for it is free from all *double entendre*. The king is here declared not as the creator (*vidhātṛ*), but as the stabilizer (*sthiti-vidhātṛ*) of the system of *varṇas*, thus in some way simulating Prajāpati, the Creator. It is in the same vein that Jayavarman IV is praised. His bow was the support of all *varṇas* (*bibhrad-dhan[usvā]n dhṛta-sarvva-varṇṇam*).[129]

So far the pretension of the Cambodian kings is in line with

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126 *Sthāneṣu sarvva-varṇṇānāṁ guṇa-vṛddhi-karo=pi yaḥ*, Thnal Baray (B), v. 15, *ISCC*, No. LVI, pp. 421 and 427.

127 Thnal Baray (B), v. 6, *ISCC*, No. LX, p. 506. Barth and Bergaigne both seem to have missed the point that the Brāhmaṇas were worried because Śambuka was a Śūdra and as such was not permitted to practise penance (*Raghu*. XV. 50-52 ; *Uttararāmacarita*, II).

128 K. 675, door-jamb south, v. 11, *IC*, Vol. I, p. 62.

129 Koh Ker (K. 677), door-jamb south, v. 6, *ibid.*, p. 57.

the Indian theory of *rāja-dharma*. But after Jayavarman IV (921-42 A. D.), there took place a change in the attitude of the kings, the precise reasons of which are not known, but as a result of which these rulers did no longer remain contented as the protector of the system of *varṇas*. As a matter of fact, from about the middle of the tenth century of the Christian era onwards, each of the rulers arrogated to himself the glory of either introducing or reforming the system of *varṇas*. Perhaps the germ of such pretension can be detected as early as the time of Yaśovarman (877-99 A. D.), with whom really begins the epigraphic period of the Aṅkor phase of Cambodian history. The king is stated to have purified the duty of castes :

> *dvāv=eva yasya paraloka-jaye sahāyau*
> *saṁśodhitau vṛṣa-kṛpāṇavarau tayoś=ca*
> *dharmmaś=śrutena pariśodhita eva śuddho*, etc.[130]

By purification of *dharma*, A. Bergaigne understood explanation of *dharma*.[131] Whatever may it be, it will indeed be very wide to see in *dharma* a reference to *varṇāśrama-dharma*. In any case, the stanza is concerned with the conquest of the other world (*paraloka*) and, as such, it has no great value for the determination of the extent of conscious effort of the king to reform the system of *varṇas*. Besides, the passages already quoted tend to establish that Yaśovarman preferred to remain the protector and stabilizer of the *varṇas* rather than the founder or reformer of the same.

The first king to speak of the reform of the *varṇas* is Rājendravarman. The inscription of Pre Rup praises him as having "ameliorated the ranks of castes" (*saṃskṛta-varṇṇa-varddhi-padais*).[132] The exact meaning of the passage cannot be deter-

130 Thnal Baray (D), v. 9, *ISCC*, No. LIX, pp. 484-85.
131 *Ibid.*, pp. 500-01.
132 V. 48, *IC*, Vol. I, pp. 82 and 112.

mined ; but some guess can be made on the basis of another stanza of the same inscription which runs as follows : "It is not only to the rules concerning dignity, but also to those concerning the castes that his speech addressed itself".[133] Did the reform effected by Rājendravarman bring about a better *rapport* between the two kinds of hierarchy, that of *varṇa* more static by virtue of its tendency to become hereditary and of *pada*, i.e., mandarinal dignity conferred by the post held in the administration and as such less prone to become confined in the family of any particular incumbent ?

The position becomes clearer with the accession of Jayavarman V. Without any pretension to modesty, the Prasat Koṁphus inscription of Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the brother-in-law of Jayavarman V, says of the latter : *digrāja-vandyo ...*, etc., as already quoted above.[134]

The change in tone may be noted. Jayavarman V has the pretension of establishing the institution of *varṇāśrama* like the Creator (*dhātṛ*) Himself.

Sūryavarman I in his turn goes a little further. While both Yaśovarman and Jayavarman V recognize a role of the Creator in the introduction of the system of castes, the Ta Keo (B)

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133 *Na kevalaṁ pada-vidhau yad=vāg-varṇṇa-vidhāv=api |*
vyāpṛtā n=opamay=aiva samartha-paribhāṣayā ||—v. 209, *ibid.*, pp. 97 and 131.

134 K. 669, v. 21, *ibid.*, pp. 164 and 176. The English rendering of Coedes's translation is given below : "... ... who after having established like the Creator Himself, an excellent order among the castes and the *āśramas*, found his joy in the *mantra* of Īśvara." This does not rule out the possibility that, while establishing order (*sad-vyavasthā*) among the castes, Jayavarman V introduced some reforms in it. But this reformist activity does not entitle him to be credited with the glory of initiating the system itself without which the comparison with the Creator falls flat. In fact, Coedes has little reason in inducting the word for 'among' (*parmi*) in his translation. Besides, the text may mean as well that the king like the Creator Himself established the good system (*sad-vyavasthā*) of *varṇāśrama*.

inscription, engraved during his reign, ascribes all credit to the king. According to it, Śivācārya was named chief of the castes after the system of castes had been established by Sūryavarman I :

Śrī-Sūryyavarmmaṇo rājya-varṇṇa-bhāge kṛte=pi yaḥ |
sampadaṁ prāpya sadbhaktyā varṇṇa-śreṣṭhatva-
saṁsthitaḥ ||[135]

The extent of the reforming activity of Sūryavarman I is also indicated by an inscription of Prasat Khna which twice mentions that the king corrected the sacred texts (*mantra-tantrāṇi saṁśodhya*, v. 74), and restored them in the capacity of the master of laws which had been since long little respected by the Śāstras :

sarvva-śāstreṣu śīrṇāni vidheyāni cirāya yaḥ |
punaḥ saṁsthāpayāmāsa yathāvat kartṛvad=dhiyā ||[136]

The great Buddhist monarch Jayavarman VII also took the trouble of reforming the *varṇas*. He is said to have perfected the usages of the castes (*saṁskṛta-varṇṇa-rīti*).[137] The same kind of grammatical similes are used in the inscription of Prasat Cruṅ to indicate the reforms undertaken by this king :

prakṛteḥ pratṛdhān varṇṇān kāla-doṣeṇa bhāṁ punaḥ |
śāstra-vṛtty-āstatād=doṣo yaḥ Pāṇinir=iv=ānayat ||

"The castes of the population, deteriorated by the fault of time, were restored by this king just as Pāṇini had destroyed the fault by virtue of his practice of the Śāstra."[138]

So far as the castes were concerned, the reformist activities of the Cambodian kings manifested themselves in three ways ;

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135 *Loc. cit.*

136 K. 661, v. 79, *IC*, Vol. I, pp. 203–04 and 215.

137 Praḥ Khan of Aṅkor, v. 21, Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p. 478.

138 Prasat Cruṅ, south-east corner, D, v. 4, *IC*, Vol. IV, pp. 232 and 234.

viz., creation of new castes, transference from one caste to another and attribution of caste status to those who did not possess it previously. As example of the former, Cambodian epigraphy knows one probable and another sure case. With reg rd to the service rendered by Rājendravarman to the castes, the inscription of Pre Rup says :

pūrṇṇe varṇṇa-samūhena pade yo = yojayat kriyāḥ |
lop-āgama-vikāra-jño = py = alop-āgama-vikriyāḥ ||

"Though he knew also the alterations coming from a want, in a place full with the collection of castes, he accomplished [only] the acts which were transformations by augmentation and not by deficiency."[139]

Leaving aside the grammatical significance of the stanza, what can "transformations by augmentation" mean ? Obviously, the expression can be taken to indicate that Rājendravarman increased the number of *varṇas*.

The Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription and its two replicas (with slight modifications),[140] already cited many times, leave no doubt that kings had the prerogative to create new *varṇa* groups. On the occasion of the termination of the period of study, king Jayavarman V ordered his *guru*, without doubt Yajñavarāha, to choose 'from the seven *varṇas* and among the relatives of the chiefs of the *ācāryas* who have succeeded one another' twenty religious men (*paṁnvas*) for each of the two newly created *varṇas* of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arccana* and *karmmāntara*.

Cases of transference of castes are more numerous. Konti,

139 V. 124, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 91 and 122. The translation given is after Coedes. It may, however, be noted that *lop-āgama-vikāra-jño='pi* should better be : 'although he knew the alterations caused by deficiency (*lopa*) as also by augmentation (*āgama*)'.

140 The stele of Tūol Daṅ Khcas (K. 868), *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 170-72, and the stele of Kok Rosei (K. 175), Face C, *ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

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the wife of Kavīndrārimathana, the faithful servant of Rājendravarman, was assigned to the *varṇa* of servants attached to the palace (lit. 'house of utensils').[141] As the wife of a respectable government servant, Konti had already a caste status. The new assignment would then mean for her nothing less than a transference of *varṇa*.

During the reign period of Jayavarman V, there took place other cases of such transference. It is stated that he assigned Loñ Vijaya, one of the distant relations of Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita and Divākarapaṇḍita, to the *varṇa* of young servants (*varṇṇa pañcāṁ kanmyañ paṁre*).[142] Since the family had been sufficiently well-known, it goes without saying that it had already a *varṇa* denomination. Thus the new post of Loñ Vijaya entailed a change in his *varṇa* status also. Again, according to the same inscription, the V. K. A. Kavīśvarapaṇḍita was admitted by Sūryavarman I to the caste of *karmāntara*.[143]

A more complicated example of transference of the different contemporary members of the same family to different *varṇas* is furnished by the inscriptions engraved on the Prasat Kok Po door-jambs. Inscription No. IV states that the mother of the *khloñ vala* Travāñ Brāhmaṇa was attributed to the service in the royal palace (*teñ tvan vraḥ mandira ta ame khloñ vala travāñ vrāhmaṇa*).[144] The younger brother of the *khloñ vala* belonged to the *khmuk vraḥ kriyā arccana*.[145] It is not difficult to imagine that the mother of the *khloñ vala* belonged to the same *sevivarṇa* as Konti mentioned earlier. As regards the younger brother, it may be safely assumed that *khmuk vraḥ kriyā arccana* was identical or very closely related

141 *Rājñ*-*opaskara-geheṣu sevi-varṇṇe*, v. 12, Vat Kdei Car (K. 157), *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 125 and 127.

142 Kuk Trapāñ Srok(B), l. 17, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 129.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

144 Ll. 63-64, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 404.

145 *Loc. cit.*

with the *varṇa* of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arccana* mentioned in the Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription. At any rate, there is little room for doubt that the mother and younger brother of the *khloñ vala* Travāṅ Brāhmaṇa belonged to two different *varṇas*. Finally, the *khloñ vala* himself was a *mūla kanmyaṅ paṁre*[146] or *svakīya bandhu-mūlastha ... ... bāla-paricāraka*.[147] The young servants are well known in Cambodian epigraphy as forming a separate *varṇa* (cf., for example, the inscription of Kuk Trapāṅ Sruk mentioned just now).

In the same way, during the reign of Udayādityavarman II, the children of Teṅ Kās, who had originally belonged to the caste of Vikrānta went to enter the service of *kralā laavaṅ*, most likely a hall in the royal palace.[148] Although the inscription does not categorically indicate that those assigned to the service of *kralā laavaṅ* formed a separate *varṇa*, it has to be accepted on an analogy with the *chmāṁ vraḥ kralā phdaṁ*.[149]

A very interesting incident of the transference of the entire population of a village from one *varṇa* to another is recorded by an inscription of Praḥ Ko. During the reign of Jayavīravarman, Vinaya, the old priest (*purohita*) of the temple of Parameśvara (Praḥ Ko), established a *pura* and made a Śaiva foundation there. "By his request", says the inscription, "the king of kings (Jayavīravarman) in the year marked by the holes (9), the eyes (2) and the mountains (7) has made the people then established at Devīpura enter as artisans in the *varṇa* of

146 Prasat Kok Po, door-jamb inscription V, ll. 2-3, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 404.

147 *Ibid*, p. 402: door-jamb IV, v. 8.

148 *Kvan teṅ kās noḥ varṇa vikrānta teṁ dau nā kralā ta ta laavaṅ*, Prasat Roluḥ, ll. 6-7, *IC*, Vol. VII, pp. 46-47, No. 3. Aymonier does not make any distinction between *kralā laavaṅ* and *kralā phdaṁ* (*Le Cambodge*, Vol. II, p. 284).

149 According to the inscription of Kuk Trapāṅ Srok, this is the name of a function assigned to the caste of *kanmyaṅ paṁre*. As such, the service of *kralā phdaṁ* would form a sub-caste under the category of *kanmyaṅ paṁre*.

goldsmiths (*cāmīkarakāra-varṇṇe*).[150] Since Vinaya was a priest, his family must have had an earlier caste status, most probably that of Brāhmaṇa ; further, since there is nothing to show that the people settled at Devīpura stood in the relation of servitude to the family of Vinaya, it may be assumed that they also were affiliated to one or more castes. Thus the novel attribution of caste to the family of Vinaya along with other residents of the village appears to be a case of transference of the whole village population from its respective *varṇas* to a new one. A very similar incident is narrated in an inscription of Vat Baset.' By order of Udayādityavarman II, the family of the architect Viśvakarman, together with everybody else of the *pura*, was registered as belonging to the famous caste of the gold cup (*prathite varṇṇe hema-karaṅke sa-kulapuro lekhito*).[151]

Bestowing the status of *varṇāśrama* to those who did not enjoy it previously was a royal prerogative. Reference has already been made to the ascription of the status of *varṇāśrama* to the family of Vap Mau when the latter had passed from serfdom to the position of a free-holder or, more precisely speaking, a direct tenant of the king, i.e., of the State.

The inscriptions bear ample testimony to the thoroughness of the State control over the *varṇas*. Two facts may be adduced to prove the truth of the statement. First, the three good *varṇas* mentioned in the Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription[152] were all under the control of the three principal *sañjaks* of the king. As regards the other *varṇas*, they were equally placed under the authority of the *sañjaks* who were candidates for [the parasol with the] golden rod. Thus all the *varṇas*, good or otherwise,

150 V. 16, *IC*, Vol. I, pp. 192 and 194.

151 K. 205, v. 12, *IC*, Vol. III, pp. 6 and 11. The expression *sakulapura* appears somewhat unusual and awkward and that is why Coedes admits that there is an element of imagination in his translation. But the enigma is solved when it is read along with the inscription of Praḥ Ko just mentioned.

152 See Appendix.

were under the surveillance of people closely associated with the king.

Secondly, the organization of the *varṇas* was dependent on the general scheme of administration of the country. According to the Sdok Kok Thoṁ inscription, Sadāśiva-Yogendrapaṇḍita was appointed *khloñ karmāntara eka.*[153] From the passage, it may further be deduced that the *khloñ* was always a nominee of the king. It has also been noted that the chief of all the castes was appointed by the king.

From the foregoing discussion it follows that the conception of ancient Cambodian kings with regard to *varṇa* was very different from what we know about it from the Dharmaśāstras or from the Indian inscriptions. In fact, the ancient Indian king looked upon himself as the supreme authority to execute Dharma (*daṇḍadhara* and *dharmapravartaka*), but never as its source. That is why theoretically the duty of an Indian king included in the maintenance of the caste system which was the main prop of the ancient Indian social system. He could never imagine of reforming, far less of creating new *varṇas*. As Prof. R. Lingat remarks, a reference similar to what occurs in the Koṁpoṅ Thoṁ inscription would have given the Indian theorist a good deal of headache to explain it away.[154] All that can at best be cited from Indian epigraphy as remotely similar is that "Groups ready to adopt rules of conduct appropriate to formerly superior classes could go to the king and obtain his sanction to their common intention and the new custom would become law".[155]

The difference in the attitude of the Cambodian kings *vis-*

153 *Loc. cit.*

154 *Journal Asiatique*, 1949. But cf. J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (4th ed.), p. 49. Hutton, however, does not quote any corroboration from the Dharmaśāstras.

155 J. D. M. Derrett in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. VII, p. 80.

a-vis the *varṇas* can best be explained on the assumption that, excepting the small number of Brāhmaṇas,[156] mostly of Indian origin, the *jāti-varṇa* distinction in ancient Cambodia had nothing to do with the scheme of society after the Indian pattern. In the absence of a more suitable terminology, the ancient Khmer people made use of such expressions as *jāti* and *varṇa* to indicate a division of the people which had bearing on the socio-economic life of the community, but was created, maintained and manoeuvred by the State to suit its purpose, administrative as well as fiscal.

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156 In modern Cambodia, there is a Buddhist Brāhmaṇa community designated as *baku*. This name, written as *paguva*, is evidently derived from Sanskrit *pakva* (ripe), perhaps through the intermediary of Tamil *pakuvan*. J. Filliozat has pointed out that the epithet *pakva* was favourite with the Sūryasiddhāntists and says: "They are not the descendants of the Brāhmaṇas like those of the inscriptions" (*Indica*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 99-100). This view seems to be confirmed by the fact that the *bakus* always retained the theoretical right to the throne in the case of absence of a princely successor who was not more than five generations away from the preceding king (Jean Imbert, *Histoire des institutions Khmeres*, p. 62, depending on Adh. Leclere's *Recherches sur le droit public des Cambodgiens*, pp. 20ff.). This right they could hold only on the assumption that they were of the same race as the kings of Cambodia, i.e., the descendants of Kauṇḍinya-Somā and of Kambu-Merā. If that be so, there is no point in calling them *Brāhmaṇa*, at least in the Indian sense of the term. The existence of the Brāhmaṇas among the Buddhists, however, seems to be probable from a stanza of the Tep Pranam inscription of the time of Yaśovarman. With regard to the right of being received at the Saugat-āśrama, the inscription lays down that, immediately after the king, the Brāhmaṇas should be honoured:

Atha dvijo='dhikaṁ pūjyaḥ parebhyo bahavo yadi |
prāptās=te kramaśaḥ śīla-guṇa-vidyā-viśeṣataḥ || (v. 54, Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p. 130). In view of the subsequent stanzas giving particulars about the mode of reception of teachers proficient in the Buddhist scriptures (vv. 57-58), there is little room for doubt that the *dvijas* referred to in verse 54 were Buddhists by religion. It may be pointed out in this connexion that the stanza quoted above is to be found in common in the inscriptions giving detailed regulations about the Vaiṣṇav-āśrama (v. 58 of the Prasat Komnap inscription, Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 123) and the Brāhmaṇ-āśrama (v. 57 of the Prei Prasat inscription, *ibid.*, p. 136). The term *Brāhmaṇa* may thus have acquired the sense of a category. For Buddhist Brāhmaṇas in Java, see Gonda, *loc. cit.*

Appendix

A passage of the Kompoṅ Thoṁ inscription (K. 57), Face B, after its complete reconstruction with the help of the Kok. Rosei (K. 175) and Don Kchas (K. 868) variants, reads as follows : (2) *nau aṁpall kule ta strījana oy ta anak ta u*(3) *ttama pi śiva-bhakti° vvaṁ āc ti anak ta hīnajāti yo*(4)*k dau pi pañjā anak khloñ hetu man dai sañjak pi* (5) *mukhya ta kamrateṅ phdai karom gus pi yok* (6) *vvaṁ āc ti oy ta anak ta sañjak ta rok kanaka* (7) *daṇḍa° ri man oy ta varṇṇa uttama piy noḥ* (8) *dau sañjak pi rok kanakadaṇḍa noḥ kule noḥ* (9) *man oy vvaṁ āc ti trāp dau nā mṛttakadhana.*

The English translation after Coedes may be as follows : "All the women of their families will be given to men of high caste for the service of Śiva ; they must not be taken by the people of low caste so as to produce *anak khloñ*. This is why, besides the three principal *sañjaks* of the king who alone can take them, one must not give them to the *sanjaks* who are in possession of the parasol with the golden rod (or perhaps 'candidates for the parasol', etc.). If they are given to the three superior castes or to the *sañjaks* in possession of the parasol with golden rod, they must never be included in the family property."

Before commenting on the translation, it is necessary to bear in mind the difficulties which the passage, apparently easy, presents to the reader. Coedes himself has pointed out that, as a result of extreme economy of the punctuation marks and different meanings given to the same word *pi* at different places, the passage has been rendered highly obscure. Coedes has been able to surmount many of these difficulties ; but, nevertheless, his translation is open to objections. First, in ll. 2-3 *anak ta uttama* should be translated as 'good men' and not as 'men of good caste', since the required word for caste (*varṇa*) does not occur here. This omission becomes significant be-

cause of the fact that a little later it has been employed (l.7). Hence the idea of caste is not intended here. It may be stated that *anak ta uttama* contrasts itself with *hīna-jāti* (l. 3), and as such it should be taken as synonymous with *sujāti*, 'men of noble birth'. Secondly, it may be said that the terms *oy ta* (ll. 2, 6, 7) and *pañjā* (1.4), on the analogy of the inscriptions of Saṁroṅ and Prasat Beṅ (*IC*, Vol. VII), signify respectively 'giving some one in marriage with somebody' and 'to give birth to' (*pañjā* being the causative form of the verb *jā*, 'to be').

Thirdly, Coedes has left the expression *anak khloñ* (l. 4) untranslated, and this leaves vague the real significance of the interdiction of giving the women of the two castes of *khmuk vraḥ kralā arccana* and *karmāntara* in marriage with the *hīna-jāti*. Mrs. S. Lewitz has pointed out to the present author that *khloñ* in the old Mon language signified 'to work, particularly in a rice-field'. Thus *anak* (people) *khloñ* means a worker in general and a cultivator in particular. A vestige of the use of the word *khloñ* as a verb is preserved in the inscriptions. Thus, an inscription from Bakoṅ contains the word *kamloñ* which is derived evidently from *kloñ* (pre-Ankorian form of *khloñ*) by way of infix *aṁ*, generally used to form a substantive from the verb. It is, however, true, as has been pointed out by Coedes, that *kaṁloñ* conveys the idea of the power or competence of the *khloñ*, 'the chief'. Fourthly, Mrs. Lewitz also thinks that the word *hetu* (l. 4) is not simply explanatory, but should rather be taken to mean 'a matter of details'. Fifthly, it is palpably unconvincing to say that all the women of the two newly created castes will have to be given in marriage only to the three principal *sañjaks* of the king. The enigma becomes intelligible if we refer to the expression *anak ta sañjak ta rok kanakadanda* (ll. 6-7) which may mean, with perfect justice to Khmer syntax, "the people belonging to the *sañjaks* who are candidates (lit. seekers) for [the parasol with] golden rod". Accordingly in l. 4, the men of the three

principal *sañjaks*, and not only the three *sañjaks* themselves, are to be understood. Sixthly, from the translation of Coedes, the significance of the interdiction for these women to be included in the family succession is not quite clear, because, no matter whether they are married to the three good *varṇas*, i.e., those of the three principal *sañjaks* of the king or to those of the other *sañjaks* who are candidates for the parasol with golden rod, these women find themselves equally disinherited. From all that is known of ancient Cambodian society, it may be stated that there can be no question of the women themselves being considered chattels forming items of family heritage. Thus the question is for these women to inherit the family property. It will be indeed in the fitness of things that they would lose their claim only if they were married to persons not recommended. This meaning is textually possible only if the word *man* (l. 7), which is normally used as an introductory word like Sanskrit *atha*, has here a negative value. With this suggestion Mrs. Lewitz is in complete agreement.

Taking into consideration the objections and observations noted above, the following translation of the passage under discussion may be offered : "All the women of their families will be given to good people. The people of low origin must not take them [as wives] for producing workers. A question of details. Besides [the people belonging to the authority of] the three principal *sañjaks* of the king alone can take them. It is forbidden to give them to the people of the *sañjaks* who are candidates for [the parasol with] golden rod. If they are not given to the three good castes [and if they] go to the men of the *sañjaks* who are candidates for [the parasol with] golden rod, their families must not give them any right to heritage."

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF LAKSMĪSIṀHA, ŚAKA 1701

SUNIL KUMAR DAS

On a visit to the Assam State Museum at Gauhati, I had the opportunity to examine a number of land grants, one of which was issued by the Ahom king Lakṣmīsiṁha in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. It is written on a single plate which was collected by Sri M. C. Das, Director of the State Museum, on 15. 5. 69, from the Deputy Commissioner's record office, Gauhati. The plate is rectangular in shape, measuring about 42.75 cm. by 14.50 cm. The right-hand corners of the plate are broken away so that the last letter of line 1 on the obverse is damaged. Inscribed on both sides, the plate contains nineteen lines of writing, nine on the obverse and ten on the reverse. On the right side of the reverse, the king's seal and the family's emblem are engraved. The seal contains a legend bearing the name of the issuer, and the emblem is a winged lion to left.

The writing on the obverse covers a space about 37.6 cm. by 9 cm., and on the reverse, about 38.2 cm. by 9.8 cm. The seal engraved on the present charter bears the following legend :

1 Śrī-śrī-Svarga-
2 nārāyaṇadeva-śrī-
3 Lakṣmīsiṁha-nṛ-
4 pāṇāṁ(ṇām //)

The introductory section of the epigraph contains three verses in Sanskrit, while the remaining portion is written in Assamese prose.* The verses in eulogy of the donor are in the

* [Muslim influence on the local administration is indicated by the use of several words of Perso-Arabic origin ; e.g., *ogāirah*, *dar o bast*, *had*, *tāṁ* (for *tārikh*) and *bāb*. Some Ahom kings of the eighteenth century used the Persian language in their coin-legend in imitation of Mughul coinage. Sometimes *y* is used for *v* as in Bengali.—Ed.]

Anuṣṭubh and *Mālinī* metres. The whole epigraph is written in the Bengali-Assamese script.

As regards the palaeographical peculiarities of the epigraph, the *anusvāra* is represented by a circle on the right side of the head of a letter, the same sign being also used to indicate contractions ; e.g., *pu°=purā* in lines 5-9, 11, etc., *po°=povā* (one-forth of a *Got*, i.e., only one *Pāik*) in lines 11-15, *Ka°=Kahār* or *Kalitā*, *o°=orā* and *ku°=kumār*. *Visarga* resembles the numerical figure '4' (two globular marks put together vertically). It is difficult to distinguish between *b* and *v* ; e.g, *Baḍuvā* looks like *Baḍubā*. An orthographical peculiarity is the doubling of the consonant after *r*.

In one case a syllable has been dropped and the missing letter has been supplied at the top of the line concerned ; cf. *la* in the word *Kacāri-mohal* in line 8. No sign like a cross called *kākapāda* or *haṁsapāda* is, however, used to indicate the missing letter.

The record says that, in the Śaka year 1701, a certain Brāhmaṇa of the name of Candramohana, received a grant of land from the king on the condition that the donee and his descendants would enjoy the property in perpetuity and, in return, would bless the donor. The gift lands were exempted from all present and future taxes.

The inscription begins with an auspicious symbol which resembles the Bengali numerical figure '7' with a *candrabindu* mark above, slightly towards the left. It signifies *siddham* or *sidhir=astu*, 'let there be success'. In some epigraphs of the Ahom kings, the auspicious word *svasti* is found at the beginning, while in others the *siddham* symbol is followed by *svasti*.

The epigraph then introduces the reigning king Lakṣmīsiṁha as a devotee of the goddess Kāmākhyā. The Ahoms were originally an animistic people. In the course of their stay in Assam, they gradually became adherents of the Vaiṣṇava

faith. From the accession of Gadādharasiṁha in 1681 A. D., however, the Śākta faith became predominant at the Ahom court; but Kṛṣṇarāma Bhaṭṭācārya, the *Rājaguru*, refused to initiate Lakṣmīsiṁha on the alleged ground of his doubtful origin and dark complexion. Lakṣmīsiṁha then invited his tutor, the Śākta priest Rāmānanda Ācārya, who initiated him into the Śākta faith. Rāmānanda Ācārya was made the king's preceptor and his descendants came to be known as *Na Gosāin.*[1]

King Lakṣmīsiṁha (1769-80 A. D.) belonged to the Tuṅgkhuṅgīyā family[2] and was the youngest son of Rudrasiṁha (1696-1714 A. D.). The king is described in our record as *Purandara-kul-odbhava* to show that he claimed descent from the family of Purandara (Indra). The Ahom kings were represented as *Svargadeva* or *Indravaṁśī*, because according to the Burañjis, they were descendants of Khun-lüṅg and Khun-lai, grandsons of Leṅgdon who was later identified by the Brāhmaṇas with Indra.

Verse 2 describes the donor as the victor over his enemies, while the next stanza mentions him as beautiful like Kāma and also as devoted to religion. The military exploits attributed to the king is hyperbolic, for it was during his time that the Movāmāriyās, who were Vaiṣṇavas of the Ṭhākuriyā class, rose in

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1 S. K. Bhyuan (ed.), *Asamar Padya Burañji*, 1932, p. 92. [On the coins of Rudrasiṁha and his sons Śivasiṁha, Pramattasiṁha and Rājeśvarasiṁha, the king is represented as a devotee of Hara-Gaurī. On some coins, Rājeśvara is called devoted to Maheśvarī. Lakṣmīsiṁha is, however, represented on his coins as devoted in some cases to Hara-Gaurī, but in others to Hari-Hara. The coins of the second class are usually undated. See Bidyabinod, *Supl. Cat. C. Ind. Mus.*, pp. 80-84.—Ed.]

2 The name of the family is derived from the locality called variously Tuṅgkhuṅg, Tiṅgkhaṅg, Tiṅgkhāṅg, Tuṅgkhāṅg and Tuṅgkhaṅg. Shū-hummüng established his four sons at Cāriṅg, Dihiṅg, Tipām and Tuṅgkhuṅg, and each of these centres became, in course of time, an establishment of princes whereform kings were recruited.

rebellion and dethroned and imprisoned king Lakṣmīsiṁha and installed a ruler from among themselves on the Ahom throne. But due to the diplomatic manoeuvre of the Ahom Dāṅgariyās (ministers) and of Kuraṅganayanī, the widow of king Rājeśvarasiṁha (1751-69 A. D.), the enemies were driven out, and the Ahom king was reinstated.[3] A word may also be said about the donor's physical charms referred to in the inscription. Rudrasiṁha promulgated a death-bed injunction by which his four sons, viz., Śiva, Pramatta, Rājeśvara and Lakṣmī, would ascend the throne in order of seniority. The arrangement went on peacefully till the death of Rājeśvara in 1769 A. D., when the succession of Lakṣmīsiṁha was disputed on the ground of his dark complexion. Lakṣmīsiṁha was nicknamed Kālaśiliyā-gohāin, derived either from his birth in a *bahār* or temporary halting camp of the king on a black stone or from his dark complexion, and it is said that his complexion made his appearance devoid of any trait of royal dignity.[4] The objection was further supported by a reference to his doubtful origin.[5] However, the issue was ultimately settled in favour of Kālaśiliyā-gohāin mainly through the diplomatic machinations of Kīrticandra Baḍ-Baḍuvā, the Ahom executive officer exercising control over all judicial, revenue and even military functions.

The grant, made to a Brāhmaṇa of Kāmarūpa for his subsistence, appears to have been originally drafted on a sheet of *sāñcipāt* (aloe-bark) or *tulāpāt* (cotton-paper) and was subse-

3 See S. K. Bhuyan (ed.), *Tuṅgkhuṅgiā Burañji*, 1964, pp. 56-84; *Sātsarī Assam Burañji*, 1969, pp. 153ff.; *Asamar Padya Burañji*, pp. 92-94; K. N. Tamuliphukan, *Assam Burañji (Puthi)*, 1964, pp. 48ff.

4 *Asamar Padya Burañji*, pp. 54-55, 57; E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, 1906, p. 183; S. K. Bhuyan, *Anglo-Assamese Relations*, 1949, p. 205.

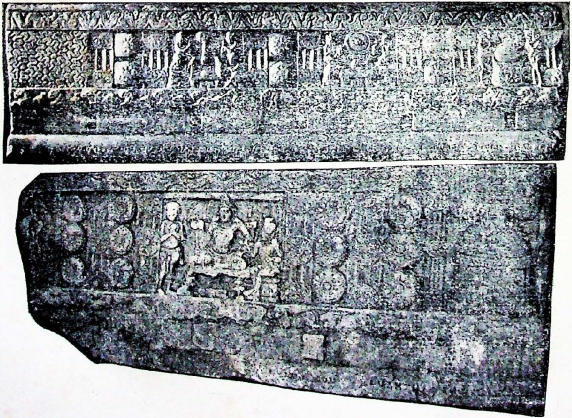
5 *Asamar Padya Burañji*, p. 92. Gait (*op. cit.*, p. 183) and Bhuyan (*Anglo-Assamese Relations*, p. 205) speak of his 'illegitimate origin'; but if Rudrasiṁha doubted his legitimacy, he might not have selected him as one of his successors.

quently engraved on the copper-plate. It mentions the designations of officials like *Baḍuvā* (officer-in-charge of a department); *Baḍ-Kāyasṭha* (revenue officer or accountant); *Caudhāri* (revenue officer-in-charge of a *parganā*, subordinate to the *Baḍ-Phukan* or viceroy of Gauhati); *Paṭovāri* (revenue officer and land-surveyor, subordinate to the *Caudhāri*); *Tālukdār* (officer-in-charge of a *tāluk*, whose duty was to collect revenue and to deposit the same to the treasury under the *Caudhāri*); and *Thākuriyā* (collector of revenue from the temples within a *parganā* under a *Caudhāri*). The king draws the attention of the said officers and also of the villagers of the region as well as of even those whose names are not indicated in the document, to the notification which would follow.

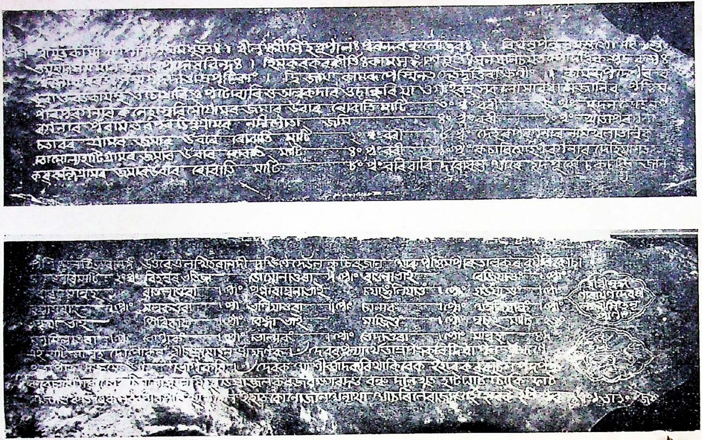
In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Kāmarūpa was administered for a considerable time by the Mughuls with their headquarters at Koc-Hājo. A Muslim revenue officer was then appointed for Koc-Hājo as in the province of Bengal. Koc-Hājo was called a *vilāyat* which was divided into four *sarkārs*, viz. Dhekeri, Kāmrūp, Dakhinkūl and Bangālbhūm. *Sarkār* Kāmrūp was subdivided into *parganās* under the *Caudhuris*.[5a] The *parganās* were often subdivided into *tāluk*, *taraf*, *mauzā* and *grām*. When the administration of Kāmarūpa was transferred to the Ahoms, they continued the Mughul system of revenue administration in Lower Assam.

The inscription records the specification of land, its location with reference to the territorial divisions such as *grām*, *taraf*, *tāluk* and *parganā* together with the classification and character of the land as follows:

5a *Kāmrūpar Buranji*, ed. Bhuyan, 1958, p. 31.



Inscribed Lintels in the Amaravati Museum



Copper-plate Grant of [illegible] sn isiṁha, Saka 1701 (pp. 67ff.)

Parganā	Tāluk	Taraf	Grām	Character	Classification	Area in Purā
Paścimpār[6]	*	*	Kanehā-suri-mau-grām	Ubār	Barī	5
					Ropit	30
Madan-mohan[7]	*	Parām	Dimugrām	,,	Nadīpotā	40
					Barī	10
Khātā[8]	*	*	Catābar	,,	Barī	8
					Ropit	20
Dehar[9]	Nām-khalā	*	Bhomolā-hāṭi	,,	Barī	10
					Ropit	40
Kacāri-mohal[10]	Dehiān	*	Kandhi	,,	,,	80
*	Paścim-pār	*	Bagari-koṭhā	,,	Barī	20
					Total	263

The area of the land has been specified in *Purā* corresponding to one and half acres. The character of the land has been called *ubār-māṭi* (unallotted surplus land) which was of three classes : (a) *barī* (high and waste land or homestead), (b) *bārī* (garden land), (c) *ropitmāṭi* (first class land where the transplanted rice was grown).

The charter gives details of the boundaries of the gift land with reference to natural landmarks as follows : (1) on the east, Cakcaki-jān (name of a *jān* or brook), (2) on the north

6 It is a *Duār Parganā* of Kāmrūp (*Kāmarūpar Buranji*, App. B, p. 111.

7 It is situated on the north bank of the Brahmaputra (Hamilton, *An Account of Assam*, ed. Bhuyan, 1963, p. 34).

8 It is in *Sarkār* Kāmrūp on the north bank of the river (*Kāmrūpar Buranji*, *loc. cit.*).

9 It is in *Sarkār* Kāmrūp (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 31).

10 *Loc. cit.*

and west, Lakhitarā-nadī (river rising from the Bhutan hills and falling into a channel of the Brahmaputra),[11] and (3) on the south, Deulkucir-jān (rivulet running by the village of Deulkuci ; *kuci*=Skt. *kuñci*, 'a village').[12]

The epigraph then mentions the allotment of *Pāiks* (foot-soldiers), a designation adopted from Muhammadan administration. The Ahoms applied it to those who were soldiers in times of war and labourers in times of peace. The identity and position of the *Pāiks* are given (lines 11–15), in respect of the then current unit of 4 *Pāiks*, called *Got*, as follows.

Pāik	*Number*			
Bagā-orā	1	*Povā*	$=\frac{1}{4}$ of a	*Got*
Manmilā-orā, brother of Bhakuvā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Rāolā-orā, nephew of Bihambar	,,	,,	,,	,,
Maluk-orā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Pirikā-kahār (or °kalitā)	,,	,,	,,	,,
Bhogā-kahār (,,)	,,	,,	,,	,,
Domonā-orā	3	,,	$\frac{3}{4}$	,,
Bhagiyā-orā, brother of a Brāhmaṇa named Pūrṇā	2	,,	$\frac{1}{2}$	,,
Bholā-kahār (or °kalitā), brother of Beṅgā	1	,,	$\frac{1}{4}$	,,
Chayāṅguliyā-orā, brother of Rāolā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Cānā-kahār (or °kalitā)	,,	,,	,,	,,
Māji-orā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Bhedā-orā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Bejiyā-orā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Hāuvā-orā	,,	,,	,,	,,
Ambariṣā-kumār	,,	,,	,,	,,
				$4\frac{3}{4}$ *Gots*

11 W. Robinson, *Descriptive Account of Assam*, 1841, p. 288.

12 [The word *kuñci* is not used in Sanskrit in the sense of 'a village'. —Ed.]

The *Pāiks* are called *ubār* indicating that they were surplus before their allotment. The name of each *Pāik* ends with a technical term, which seems to indicate either his caste or his profession. In lines 14-15, the charter records the grand totals as 263 (*Purās*) and 4.75 (*Gots*).

The epigraph then records the name of the donee who was the Brāhmaṇa Candramohana, an inhabitant of Dopokar* (perhaps a village in Kāmarūpa). The grant was issued in order to acquire *puṇya* or religious merit (line 16). The word *Svarga-deva*, i.e., the Ahom king, is here expressed by a mark resembling the *candrabindu* sign. It is stated that the donee and his descendants would enjoy this property in perpetuity and, in return for this, they were required to invoke dlvine favour for the king (lines 16-17) as we have already indicated above.

The epigraph supplies a long list of taxes from which the donee was allowed exemption. These are : (1) *kara*, periodical tax over and above the king's grain share ; (2) *kāṭala*, levy from the Pāiks who enjoy state land, but fail to offer the required service ; (3) *pada*, a tax payable in kind ; (4) *pañcaka*, a poll tax levied upon the ryots during Ahom rule ; (5) *beṭha*, a kind of tax ; (6) *begār*, supply of free labour ;** (7) *cora*, another kind of tax ; (8) *cinvāl*, customs dues ; (9) *marsa*, tax levied on the produce of *amaranthus oberaceus* yielding a small edible grain largely consumed on the hills ; (10) *dhumuci*, supply of articles to the royal store-house by persons holding land without owner ; (11) *jalakara*, tax payable for profits derived from waters or ponds ; (12) *yavakṣāra*, obligation related to the supply of material for the manufacture of gunpowder ; (13) *daṇḍa*, fines ; (14) *bandha*, tax levied for the maintenance of a

* [Dopok.—Ed.]

** [*Beṭh* (from Sanskrit *viṣṭi*) is the same as Persian *begār*, 'unpaid labour'. *Beṭh-begār* is a combined expression in which both components have the same meaning, e.g., *kāj-karma*, *bhāi-berādar*. *Bheṭ* meaning *nazar* seems to be different.—Ed.]

reservoir or a road across the plains inundated in the rainy season ; (15) *dāna*, duty imposed upon goods for sale or ferriage ; (16) *khuta*, a kind of tax or cess ; (17) *hāṭa*, duty on the markets ; (18) *ghāṭa*, duty on the bathing or landing places on the bank of rivers ; (19) *caukī* or *caki*, tolls collected at the outposts or checkposts ; (20) *phāṭa*, literally, 'a military outpost', though the nature of the levy is uncertain ; etc.

The donee was to enjoy immunity from paying the above taxes, but not from *rāja-daṇḍa* or punishment inflicted by courts (line 19). There is no reference to any restriction or condition regarding sale, mortgage, etc., or confiscation of the gift land.

The concluding portion of the epigraph bears an exhortation or admonition addressed by the donor to all those who were related either directly or indirectly to the gift land. The charter states that the transgressor of the grant would be punished by the king. The concluding sentence is an indirect appeal to the future kings for the maintenance of the grant.

In the stone inscriptions of the Ahom period,[13] recording such works as the construction of temples or forts and excavation of tanks, the name of a supervising authority holding a high administrative post is generally mentioned sometimes along with his father's name. The charter under review contains no such mention. A Burañji[14] records that the subject matter of a proposed grant was communicated to the chamberlain styled *Majundār Baḍuvā* who prepared the draft called *mahajar*, and put on it the seal of the king and the royal emblem. The document thus became legal. A copy of the same was kept by the *Majundār Baḍuvā* who probably directed an officer of rank to supervise its engraving on a permanent

13 For details, see K. A. S. Transcripts Nos. 5, 11-12, 14-16, 27-28, 30, 60.

14 Harkanta Barua, *Assam Buranjī*, 1962, p. 124.

material. The second copy was preserved in the *gandhiyābharāl* or royal record room. It is possible that the grant under discussion was issued from the capital and that it was the *Majundār Baḍuvā* who supervised its preparation under the king's instruction. If it was issued from Kāmarūpa, the viceregal jurisdiction of the *Baḍ-Phukan*, the name of the latter is expected to have occurred in the epigraph.

The end of the epigraph is indicated by the word *iti*. Then its date in the Śaka era is given in figures with the specification of day and month. The Śaka era which was in use in Assam since the days of Shū-hum-mūng nicknamed Dihiṅgiyā Rājā (1497-1539 A. D.).[15] The date is the 20th Jyaiṣṭha of Śaka 1701, which corresponds to the 3rd June, 1779 A. D.

As to the authentication of documents, it is to be mentioned that the Ahom kings did not themselves put their signature on any letter or document. It was the *Majundār Baḍuvā* who was in possession of the *siṁha-chāb* or royal emblem and seal, which he impressed on a document.[16]

Text[17]

Obverse

1 Siddham[18] (//*)
[19]Śrīyuta-Kāmākhyā-pāda-padma-madhuvrataḥ /
śrī-Lakṣmīsiṁha-bhūpālaḥ Purandara-kul-odbhavaḥ // (1*)
Ripu-nṛpa-kula-masta-śreṇi-vinyasta-[s]a-

15 Harkanta Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 27. [The earliest use of the Śaka era in Assam is found in the Kanaibarshi inscription of the Śaka year counted by the words *turaga* (7), *yugma* (2) and *īśa* (11), i.e., Śaka 1127 (1206 A. D.) according to the *vāma-gati* principle.—Ed.]

16 Harkanta Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

17 From the original plate.

18 Expressed by symbol.

19 Two syllables are wanting in the following stanza. [Better read *svasti* at the beginning of the stanza for filling up the lacuna.—Ed.]

2 sta-

tyu[20]-maṇi-sama-maṇi-śrī-smera-pād-āravindaḥ /

himakara-kara-kīrttiḥ kāma-saṅkāśa-mūrttiḥ

sunaya-nicaya-talpo datti-kalpadru-kalpaḥ (// 2*)

3 Asau dharmma-rataḥ samyag = adadāt = tāmra-paṭṭikāṁ-
(kām) /

dvijāya Kāmarūpe = smin = tad = etat vṛitti-rakṣiṇīṁ(ṇīm)
// (3*)

Kāmrūp-deśar Ba-

4 ḍuvā o Baḍ-Kāyastha o Caudhāri o Paṭovāri o Tālukdār o

Thākuriyā o gāiraha[21] sakalo sābadhāne jāniba (/*) Paścim-

5 pār parganār Kanehāsurimau-grāmar jamār ubār robāti

māṭi 30 pu°[22] barī 5 pu° Madanmohan-pa-

6 rganār Parām-tarapar Dimu-grāmar nadī-potā jami 40 pu°

barī 10 pu° Khātā-parganār

7 Catābar-grāmar jamār ubār robāti māṭi 20 pu° barī 8 pu°

Dehar-parganār Nāmkhalā-tālukar

8 Bhomolāhāṭi-grāmar jamār ubār robāti māṭi 40 pu° barī 10

pu° Kacārimohal-parganār Dehiyān-tālu-

9 kar Kandhi-grāmar jamār ubār robāti māṭi 80 pu° bari bāri

darobasta āre hada[23] pūrvve Cakcaki-jān

Reverse

10 paścime Lakhitarā-nadī uttare o Lakitarā-nadī dakṣiṇe

Deulkucir jān āru Paścimpār-tālukar Bagarikoṭhā-

11 grāmar bari māṭi 20 pu° [24]Bihambar-bhatijā Domonā-orā

$\frac{3}{4}$ po° Rāolā-bhāi Bejiyā-o° $\frac{1}{4}$ po°

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20 Read *stutya.* [The reading is *srasta-dyumaṇi.*—Ed.]

21 [The word *ogāirah* stands for Arabic *vagairah* meaning 'and others, *et cetera*'.—Ed.]

22 The contraction *pu* stands for *purā.*

23 It is Arabic *hadda,* 'boundary'. ['Boundary' is *had,* and *dar o bast* means 'all, entirely'.—Ed.]

24 The list of *Pāiks* together with the area of land in lines 11-15 is to be read vertically.

12 ubār mānuh Rāolā-orā ¼ po° Pūrṇṇā-bāmunā-bhāi Ca(Cha)-yāṅguliā-o⁰ ¼ po⁰ Hāuyā-o⁰ ¼ Po⁰
13 Bagā-orā ¼ po⁰[25] Maluk-orā ¼ po⁰ Bhagiyā-orā ½ po⁰ Cānā-ka⁰ ¼ Ambariṣā-ku⁰ ¼ po⁰
14 Bhakuyā-bhāi Pirikā-ka⁰ ¼ po⁰ Beṅgā-bhāi Māji-o⁰ ¼ po⁰ muṭhat māṭi 263
15 Manmilā-orā ¼ po⁰ Bhogā-ka⁰ ¼ po⁰ Bholā-ka⁰ ¼ po⁰ Bhedā-orā ¼ po⁰ mānuh 4 ¾
16 ei-māṭi mānuh Dopokar Śrī-Candramohan-Brāhmaṇak ˇdevar[26] puṇy-ārthe tāmra-patra kari diyā-gal (/*) brāhmaṇe
17 putra-pautr-ādi-krame upabhog* kari ˇdevak āśirvvād kari thākibek (/*) ihār kar-kāṭal-pada-pañca-
18 k-beṭh-begār-cor-cinālā(nvāl)-dhumuṣi(ci)-māḍeṣā(marsa ?)-jalkar-javakṣyā(kṣā)r-daṇḍa-bandha-dāna-khut-hāṭ-ghāṭ-cauki-phāṭ
19 rājadaṇḍa-vyatireka sarvva-vāva**-parityāga hail (/*) ihāt kono-jane anyathā ācarile rājadaṇḍ-ārha haibek iti (/*) Śaka 1701 tāṁ[27] [2]0 Jai(Jyai)ṣ[ṭha] (/*)***

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25 The contraction *po⁰* stands for *povā*, 1 *povā* being ¼ of a *Got* consisting of 4 *Pāiks*. Likewise, *Ka⁰* = *Kahār* or *Kalitā*, *O⁰* = *Orā*, *Ku⁰* = *Kumār*, etc.

26 Here and in the following line, the *candrabindu* sign indicates the king's name.

* [There is some space between *upa* and *bhog*.—Ed.]

** [Arabic *bāb*, 'a tax or cess'.—Ed.]

27 The contraction *tāṁ* signifies *tārikh*, 'date'.

*** [Another copper-plate grant of Lakṣmīsiṁha, written in the same style and dated in Śaka 1692, was illustrated and transcribed by N. N. Vasu in *The Social History of Kamarupa*, Vol. II, App., between pp. 58-59. There are some errors in Vasu's transcript. The donee was Bhognārāṇ Caudhāri. *Paṭovārī* is written here as *Paṭayārī*.—Ed.]

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN EPIGRAPY AND PALAEOGRAPHY

D. C. SIRCAR

Part I

EPIGRAPHY*

I. INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

1. Nature of the Records

The word 'inscription' literally means any writing incised on some object and 'epigraphy' signifies the study of inscriptions. Rocks as well as lithic, metallic, earthen or wooden objects such as pillars, tablets, plates, pots, bricks, and similar other things were generally used for engraving inscriptions in India. Occasionally epigraphic records were incised on conch and tortoise shells as well as ivory plaques and like materials. Usually, manuscripts and communications were written with pen and ink on such objects as birch-bark sheets and palmyra leaves. In the manuscripts of the southern regions of the country, letters were merely scratched on palmyra leaves with a sharp-pointed needle. Communications and documents were often written on pieces of cloth, while we have also reference to manuscripts written on silk apparently with ink. Such writings fall outside the category of inscriptions.

Writing in relief as we find in the legends on coins and seals, which are usually produced out of moulds or dies, is noticed in late medieval inscriptions. There are some early records painted on cave walls or written in ink on wooden tablets. These are often regarded as inscriptions, although their writing is not actually engraved. In the Indian inscrip-

* Lecture delivered at the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, on 24.11.70.

tions written in the Perso-Arabic script, the letters are generally not engraved, but are formed by scooping out the space around them. The influence of this style of engraving is noticed in some late medieval epigraphs with writing in relief, to which reference has just been made above.

Inscriptions may vary considerably in respect of length. Sometimes an epigraph contains only a mark or a letter incised by a mason for his own guidance or one single word or expression indicating the name of an individual, often a pilgrim at a holy religious establishment eager to commemorate his visit, or sought to be the label of a sculptured scene from well-known episodes. Somewhat longer inscriptions may record the dedication of the images of deities or commemorate such events as the fall of a hero in a battle or the self-immolation of a widow and the head-offering of a person in fulfilment of a vow. Most of the epigraphic records of moderate length including those at religious establishments are, however, dedicatory in nature.

In some cases, an inscription represents a *kāvya* in many cantos or a drama in several acts. The Udaipur (Rajasthan) Rājasamudra inscription offers an instance of the first category, while the Ajmer *Lalitavigraharāja* and *Harakeli-nāṭaka* inscriptions illustrate the second type. These are stone inscriptions ; but books were sometimes also engraved on copper plates. Extracts from religious texts were incised in some cases on plates of gold and silver.

We shall see below how the information supplied by inscriptions is of a varied nature ; as for instance, the Kudumiyamalai (Pattukkottai, Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu) inscription contains a unique seventh-century work on musical notations. Inscriptions from Uttiramerur (Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu) likewise throw very welcome light on the village administration in Southern India in the tenth century A. D.

2. Private and Royal Records

Inscriptions may be classified broadly under two groups : (1) those incised by or on behalf of the ruling authority and (2) those engraved on behalf of private individuals or organizations.

Most epigraphs of the second category record either donations made in favour of religious establishments, or installation of images of gods and goddesses for worship. They are often engraved on the objects that were donated or installed and are generally not long. Amongst them those mentioning the king in whose reign the grant was made or the installation took place are of greater value to the student of history.

Hundreds of dedicatory inscriptions, big and small, are incised on the walls, etc., of reputed religious establishments and centres of pilgrimage like the temples at Bhubaneswar, Drākṣārāma, Śrīkūrmam, Siṁhācalam, Śrīraṅgam, Kāñcīpuram, Lālguḍi and other places. The largest number of donations recorded in these epigraphs were made by pilgrims including kings, chiefs or royal officers. Sometimes people used to make donations in favour of such temples through their representatives whom they sent to the places of pilgrimage. Rich people eager to visit temples in the course of their pilgrimage sometimes carried a written eulogy with them for the purpose of getting it engraved on a temple wall after having made their donations.

Sometimes eulogistic compositions, called *praśasti*, were composed and incised on stone tablets or pillars to commemorate public works such as the excavation of a tank or step-well or the construction of a temple by a royal or ordinary personage or a group of people. The king of the country is often mentioned in such epigraphs composed on behalf of private persons or officials. Thus such private records sometimes offer valuable information for the reconstruction of both cultural and

political history as well as for other allied subjects like topography.

The most important inscriptions are, however, those which were incised by or on behalf of the ruling authority. These records include the following categories : (1) royal edicts (e.g. the rock and pillar edicts of the Maurya king Aśoka), (2) epigraphs commemorating particular achievements of a king in a eulogistic *kāvya* or *praśasti* (e.g. the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman and the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta) and (3) grants made in favour of learned Brāhmaṇas, religious institutions or deserving individuals and officials.

There are some forged documents among the records of the last category. A copper-plate grant was forged in early times just as a tittle-deed is farbricated even now. Forgeries of epigraphic records are sometimes made at the present time with a view to getting a high price for the object from interested parties. A forged copper-plate grant is mentioned in the Tārācaṇḍī rock inscription (1169 A.D.) of Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila (Japla in the Palamau District, Bihar), and the document in-question, issued in the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayacandra (c. 1155-70 A. D.), has also been published.

II. Language

1. Prakrit and Sanskrit

The language of the early epigraphs of India, such as those of Aśoka, is Prakrit. It was superseded as the language of the royal courts by Sanskrit at a later date. Most of the early Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in the western part of Northern India. They belong to the period near about the beginning of the Christian era when that region was under the domination of foreigners like the Scythians and the Kuṣāṇas. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions are the Nagarī-Hāthibāḍā

(Chittorgarh District, Rajasthan) records of Gājāyana Sarvatāta (middle of the 1st century B.C.) and the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva (close of the 1st century B.C.), the second of which comes from an area outside the zone of foreign influence indicated above. Certain Mathurā inscriptions of the time of Śaka Śoḍāsa (beginning of the first century A. D.) and the Junāgaḍh inscription (150 A. D.) of Śaka Rudradāman however, suggest that Sanskrit as the court language was patronised by the foreign rulers.

Prakrit was practically ousted by Sanskrit from North Indian epigraphy by about the close of the third century A. D., though it took another century for its complete supersession by Sanskrit at the courts of South Indian kings. Among South Indian epigraphs, the influence of Sanskrit is earliest noticed in an Amaravati inscription of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi who flourished about the close of the second century A. D. ; but the latest Prakrit records of rulers who flourished in the southern areas of India and belonged to the Pallava, Kadamba, Śālaṅkāyana and other dynasties are asssignable to about the middle of the fourth century A. D.

Some of the early inscriptions in Sanskrit may be regarded as specimens of *kāvya* in prose or verse or a mixture of the two. They were composed by poets who were usually attached to the royal courts. To this class belong the Junāgaḍh (Gujarat) inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman (middle of the second century A. D.), the Allāhābād (U. P.) pillar inscription of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A. D.), the Tālagunda (Shimoga District, Mysore) inscription of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman (middle of the fifth century A. D.), the Aihole (Bijapur District, Mysore) inscription of the Cālukya emperor Pulakeśin II (first half of the seventh century A. D.) and many others. In some cases, the names of the authors of such *kāvyas* are mentioned in the inscriptions ; but only a few of the authors of medieval records

are known from their other works, or from stray stanzas attributed to them in the anthologies. Some of the authors, e.g. Hariṣeṇa, Kubja and Ravikīrti, authors respectively of the Allāhābād, Tālagunda and Aihole *praśastis*, were poets of considerable merit.

Some early inscriptions in Prakrit may be similarly classed as *gadya-kāvyas*. Indeed, the earliest epigraphic record written in a developed *kāvya* style is in Prakrit. It is the Hāthigumphā (Khaṇḍagiri hills near Bhubaneswar, Orissa) inscription of the Cedi-Mahāmeghavāhana king Khāravela who flourished in the first century B. C. We may also refer in this connection, to the Nasik (Maharashtra) cave inscription of the nineteenth regnal year of the Śātavāhana king Pulumāvi (middle of the second century A.D.) and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of the fourteenth regnal year of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta (third quarter of the third century A. D.).

Sanskrit was continuously used in writing inscriptions in all parts of the country till the late medieval period. In many parts of India, however, the regional languages came to be more and more popular as the language of epigraphy, especially so far as private epigraphs were concerned.

2. Foreign Languages

Some of the earliest inscriptions discovered in West Pakistan and Afghanistan, both included in the Udīcya or Uttarāpatha Division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārīdvīpa, are written in Aramaic which was the language of administration of the Achaemenian conquerors. Coins of the foreign rulers of the said region bear Greek legends. Some of the edicts of Aśoka discovered near Kandahar are written in the Aramaic and Greek languages meant respectively for his

Kamboja and Greek subjects. The name Bactrian is applied to the language of the Surkh Kotal (North Afghanistan) inscription of the 31st year of the Kaniṣka era, which is written in the Greek script. Iranian or Bactrian is the language of some of the coin legends of the Kuṣāṇas.

A large number of Indian epigraphic and numismatic records of the medieval period, mainly those belonging to Muslim rulers, are written in Arabic and Persian. A few such records in Tibetan, Burmese and Chinese have also been discovered.

Tomb inscriptions of late medieval times, written in many of the European languages, have been discovered especially in the cemeteries in big cities in different parts of the country.

3. Regional Languages

Amongst the regional languages of India, those of the Dravidian group first appear in inscriptions. Tamil occurs first in a number of small cave and earthen pot inscriptions belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. On certain silver coins of the Śātavāhana kings, the obverse legend in Prakrit is translated on the reverse into what may be called Drāviḍa Prakrit. From about the sixth century A. D., the principal languages of the Dravidian group, viz. Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa, began to be used in royal records, and the popularity of their use in inscriptions gradually increased as days passed.

Of the Neo-Indo-Aryan languages, Marāṭhī is the first to appear in royal epigraphs. The medieval kings of Rajasthan and Orissa used the regional languages in their documents in some cases. Hindī with its various dialects as well as Gujarātī appears in numerous private records of the medieval age.

Charters of the rulers of certain Central Indian and Himalayan states were written in the local dialects. Some charters of the kings of Tripurā and of the Ahom kings of Assam are mainly written in Bengali and Assamese respectively though Sanskrit was more popular at these courts.

III. Importance Of Epigraphy

1. Absence of Early Works on Indian History

The study of inscriptions has a special importance in respect of the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history.

There is no doubt that India contributed to the civilization of the world in all the periods of her history ; but her more singnificant contributions were made in the early period. Thus the study of early Indian history has a great importance to one interested in the history of human civilization. Unfortunately, the Indians of antiquity were not careful about leaving written accounts of all their achievements. That is why, unlike Greece, Rome and China, ancient India has no history written in the early period. Ancient India did not produce historians like Herodotos, Thucydides or Tacitus to leave for posterity dependable and comprehensive accounts of the achievements of her sons. The information gathered from sources like the literary, epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological and monumental records therefore requires to be utilised for the reconstruction of this lost history of the most glorious days of India. Among such sources used in the reconstruction of early Indian history, the most important are inscriptions dealing with the deeds of royal and private personages as well as various kinds of organisations and institutions. Epigraphic records have provided material for the major part of what is now known about the achievements of the Indians of old particularly in respect of the political history of ancient and early medieval India and allied topics.

Elphinstone observed in 1839 in his famous *History of India* that, in Indian history, no date of a public event could be fixed before Alexander's invasion and no connected account of the national transactions could be attempted until upto the Muslim conquest. Cowell accepted, in 1886, the truth of Elphinstone's observation in regard to the whole of what is called the Hindu period of Indian history. In Cowell's opinion it is only at those points where other nations came into contact with the Indians that we are able to settle any details accurately. The activities of a host of scholars working in the various branches of ancient Indian history resulted in the gradual discovery and accumulation of an unexpected wealth of material rendering great help in its reconstruction. Needless to say that the achievements of ancient Indian rulers described in inscriptions engraved on stone and copper plates were the most important of this.

2. Study of Inscriptions

The necessity of arranging epigraphical records systematically for the reconstruction of the history of ancient India was pointed out, as early as 1837, by James Prinsep who first placed the study of Indian archaeology on a sound and critical foundation.

Many inscriptions appeared in such periodicals as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, established in 1784), the *Indian Antiquary* (started in 1872), *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (started in 1841) and others. Out of the numerous inscriptions discovered till then, Alexander Cunningham, the first Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, collected those of Aśoka in a volume (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I : *Inscriptions of Aśoka,* Calcutta, 1877), and J. F. Fleet, Epi-

graphist of the Government of India in 1883-86, edited the inscriptions of the Guptas and others (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Calcutta, 1888). E. Hultzsch, Epigraphist to the Government of Madras in 1886-1903, published in 1890 the first volume of an important series entitled *South Indian Inscriptions*. Several volumes of this series were later published by Hultzsch and other scholars. J. Burgess, who succeeded Cunningham as Director-General of the Archaeological Survey, started an official periodical entitled *Epigraphia Indica*, exclusively for the publication of inscriptions, about the year 1889.

Volume I of the *Epigraphia Indica* (completely published by 1892) was edited by Burgess with the assistance of Hultzsch and A. Führer who was Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Province and Oudh (i.e. the present Uttar Pradesh). Vol. II of the periodical was edited by Burgess assisted by Führer. These two volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* were published as a supplement of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vols. I and III, published respectively by Cunningham and Fleet as noticed above. From the next volume, however, the *Epigraphia Indica* became a regular quarterly, to be complete in eight parts covering a period of two years.

Vols. III-VI of the *Epigraphia Indica* for the years 1894-1895 to 1900-1901 were edited by Hultzsch as Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, and Vols. VII-VIII (1902-1906), together with a few parts of Vol. IX (1907-1908), by the same scholar as Professor in the University of Halle in Germany.

The later parts of Vol. IX and some subsequent issues were edited by Sten Konow as Government Epigraphist for India. Sten Konow's successor in the said post was V. Venkayya who was followed, several years after his death in 1912, by H. Krishna Sastri. During the interval between Venkayya's death and Krishna Sastri's appointment, a few volumes and some parts of the journal were edited from abroad by Sten Konow

and F. W. Thomas. After Krishna Sastri, the publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* has continued under the editorship of various Indian scholars holding the post of Government Epigraphist for India. The periodical is now running its 37th volume, its publication having been suspended for a few years during the Second World War. Recently the designation of the officer who edits the periodical has been changed to Chief Epigraphist.

3. Reconstruction of History

The beginning of the present century witnessed the publication of V. A. Smith's celebrated work entitled *Early History of India*. An attempt was made in it, for the first time, to sort and arrange the accumulated stores of knowledge in a more or less connected account of the political and cultural history of ancient India. The book was thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged in subsequent editions which appeared in 1908, 1914 and 1924, the latest being published shortly after Smith's death. The significant part played by the discovery and study of new inscriptions in the reconstruction of early Indian history and the amount of progress made in the work year after year become clear from a comparative study of the successive editions of Smith's *Early History of India* and also of H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* which was first published by the University of Calcutta in 1923 and was revised by the author in 1927, 1931, 1938, 1950 and 1953. It should, however, be admitted that, though great progress has been made, there are still many gaps in the early history of India, and a large number of problems still await solution by further discoveries and studies.

The importance of inscriptions, including legends on coins and seals, in the reconstruction of early Indian history can be demonstrated by an example.

An emperor named Budhagupta was unknown till the first

quarter of the nineteenth century. A stone inscription mentioning a subordinate ruler named Suraśmicandra and his overlord whose name is given as Budhagupta, was discovered in 1838 at Eraṇ in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh. The said record, dated in the Gupta year 165 corresponding to 484-85 A. D., states that the ruler of Eraṇ named Mātṛviṣṇu was subordinate to Budhagupta's viceroy governing the tract lying between the rivers Kālindī (Yamunā) and Narmadā. From this we came to learn that king Budhagupta held sway over the Malwa region in 484-85 A. D. Some silver coins of the same monarch, discovered in 1894, were found to have been issued in the Gupta year 175, i.e. 494-95 A. D. Thus we learnt further that king Budhagupta of the Malwa region, reigned for about a decade between 484 and 495 A. D. In 1914-15 two inscriptions of Budhagupta's reign, discovered at Sārnāth near Vārāṇasī, were found to be dated in the Gupta year 157 (476-77 A. D.). We came to learn from this that Budhagupta was not a local ruler of the Malwa tract, but that his kingdom included wide areas of U. P. as well. It was also now known that he ruled not for about a decade, but at least for about eighteen years between 476 and 495 A. D. The fact that Budhagupta's dominions extended from Malwa in the west to Vārāṇasī in the east led scholars to suspect that he might have been a scion of the Imperial Gupta house of Magadha. This possibility became nearly a certainty a few years later, when two copper-plate grants of the same king's reign, which had been found at Dāmodarpur in the Dinajpur District of North Bengal, were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV (1919-1920). These records indicated the inclusion of the northern areas of Bengal within the extensive empire of Budhagupta. Even then, however, the exact position of Budhagupta in the Imperial Gupta genealogy remained undetermined. At last in 1943, the correct decipherment of a broken seal of the said king, found at Nālandā in the Patna District of Bihar,

settled the question. Budhagupta was now known to have been the son of Pūrugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (414-55 A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It will be seen, how for the required information about king Budhagupta's position in the Gupta genealogy, students of Indian history had to wait for more than a century from 1838 to 1943. It should also be remembered that all the facts relating to Budhagupta have not yet been recovered, and there is even a controversy whether Budhagupta ruled before or after his brother or step-brother Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya.

The reconstruction of the genealogy of thc Candras of East Bengal is another story similar to the determination of Budhagupta's place in the Gupta genealogy. King Govindacandra of Vaṅgāla-deśa was known from the Tirumalai inscriptions as early as 1890, when the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, was published ; but the names of all the seven generations of the Candra kings from Pūrṇacandra to Govindacandra have been known only a few years ago.

The gathering of information bit by bit in the way indicated above is of great interest to scholars engaged in the reconstruction of early Indian history, and, at every new discovery, they must have felt like 'some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken'.

There is a wrong belief among ordinary students of history that all important inscriptions have already been discovered and utilised by scholars for the reconstruction of the early history of India. The discovery and study of epigraphic records are, however, continuing and will continue for many years to come, even though a large number of facts relating to early Indian history will probably never be recovered from oblivion.

Epigraphy and palaeography and the reconstruction of history with their help are difficult subjects demanding great

patience and perseverance, intelligence and sound knowledge of history, languages and scripts and, above all, critical acumen and genuine love of truth. At first the labours of Western scholars initiated and advanced the study of the subjects very satisfactorily, and then Indian scholars also participated in it. For some time past, interest in the study has waned both in the West and in India. Successful young students of the subject are very few at present.

4. Merits and Demerits of the Evidence of Eulogies

In the medieval period, the grant of a village or even a small piece of land, engraved on a plate or plates of copper, was often made the subject of an elaborate *praśasti* or eulogy; but such compositions relating to the commemoration of military exploits or the construction of a temple or the excavation of a tank were generally engraved on tablets or pillars of stone. These records are usually big. Private pillar inscriptions recording events like the death of a hero or the self-immolation of a widow, which are numerous in the southern and western areas of India, are usually small as already mentioned.

Information regarding the achievements of a king and his ancestors, generally found in the big *praśastis*, is of great value for the reconstruction of the political history of ancient and medieval India. Most of the facts supplied by these records are in many cases not known from any other source. In a number of cases, the history of a royal family has been recovered almost entirely from inscriptions including legends on coins and seals. Reference in this connection may be made to the mighty Guptas of Magadha. The spectacular achievements of Samudragupta (*circa* 335-76 A.D.) of Pāṭaliputra near Pāṭnā, who subdued wide areas of Northern India and penetrated into South India as far as Kāñcīpura in the Chingleput District of Tamil Nadu, are only known from his Allāhābād pillar inscription. Likewise, information about the exploits of the army of

the Coḷa king Rājendra I (1012-44 A.D.) of Tamil Nadu, which advanced in a victorious march as far as Bengal in the east, and of his navy that established Coḷa authority in wide areas of Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula, has been gathered from inscriptions alone.

The *praśastis* of the medieval rulers of India often exhibit an amount of exaggeration which partially mars the value of the documents as a source of history. The court poets' tendency to exaggerate the achievements of their patrons may be illustrated by an inscription of the Candella king Dhaṅga (*circa* 950-1002 A.D.) from Khajurāho (Chhatarpur District, Madhya Pradesh). A stanza of this epigraph implies that the Candella monarch not only succeeded in crushing many kings including the rulers of Kāñcī (in Tamil Nadu), Andhra, Rāḍhā (South-West Bengal) and Aṅga (East Bihar), but even in imprisoning the queens of all the defeated kings at his capital.

The above achievement attributed to Dhaṅga by his court poet is palpably an exaggeration. It is doubtful, in the first place, if Dhaṅga really came into conflict with all the four kings mentioned in the inscription. It may be noticed that the rulers of Aṅga and Rāḍhā, in the age of Dhaṅga, were merely viceroys of the contemporary Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar. Secondly, even if the Candella monarch actually fought with the said four kings, it is more dubious that he succeeded in subduing all of them. Thirdly, supposing that Dhaṅga came out victorious in his encounters with all the four adversaries, it is again difficult to believe that he succeeded at the same time in carrying off the queens of all the rulers. Fourthly, even granting that the Candella king actually captured the queens of all his enemies, he is normally expected to have put the ladies in his own harem or to have presented them to his favourite subordinates rather than to have kept them in the prison. To the same category must be placed the claim of some early medieval South Indian rulers like Kalacuri Bijjala to have been

the conqueror of Siṁhala, Nepāla, Turuṣka, Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha.

Historians have to keep such tendencies to exaggeration in the official eulogies in mind and to be careful in determining the genuineness of a claim offered in the *praśastis* of the medieval Indian rulers. However, gross exaggeration of the type discussed above is not usually found in the description of rulers found in records of the earlier epochs. That is why, the earlier the king is, the greater is our reliance on his claim, even though there is always an amount of exaggeration in the official eulogies composed by the court poets of Indian monarchs.

The *praśasti* composed by the poet at an Indian court usually abounds in vague praises of his patron as well as the latter's ancestors. Definite statements, such as the mention of the personal names of adversaries, which are rare, are generally more reliable than vague claims. Whatever be the amount of exaggeration, there is no doubt a very considerable amount of truth in the claims put forth in epigraphs like the Allāhābād pillar inscription of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (fourth century A.D.) and the Tirumalai rock inscription of the Coḷa monarch Rājendra I (eleventh century A. D.). In many cases, these records mention the personal names of the defeated adversaries and also the names of territories over which they were ruling.

Often the descriptions of kings in the *praśastis* contain claims which are conventional and therefore of no great historical value. One such convention is the representation of an independent or imperial ruler as the conqueror or ruler of 'the entire earth' which was conceived as the sphere of influence of a paramount ruler. This sphere of influence of an emperor was known as the *cakravarti-kṣetra*. The 'earth' or *cakravarti-kṣetra* was conceived as identical with ancient Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārīdvīpa extending from the Himalayas in the north and

the Indian Ocean or Siṁhala in the south. But sometimes it was regarded as coterminous either with Āryāvarta lying to the north of the Vindhyan range or with Dakṣiṇāpatha lying to its south in relation to a king respectively of the North and the South.

In some cases, a mere present from the ruler of a distant land is pompously represented as tribute paid to the patron of the poet, and often a contact of any kind with a king is put up as his subordination to the poet's patron or the latter's ancestors.

IV. Copper-Plate Grants

1. Royal Charter in the Dharmaśāstras

Epigraphs recording grants of land were usually engraved on copper plates as already indicated. Early works on law, such as the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and *Viṣṇusmṛti* speak of the preparation of *rāja-śāsanas*, i.e. royal charters recording grants of land, property, etc. Yājñavalkya's work is believed to have been composed about the fourth century A. D., while the work of Viṣṇu, in its present form, is assigned to a slightly later date.

According to the Dharmaśāstras, when a king made a grant of land, etc., a *lekhya* or document was prepared for the guidance of future rulers of the territory with particular reference to the privileges the donee would be allowed to enjoy. Then the record was written on a piece of cloth (*paṭa*) or incised on one or more copper plates or a copper tablet (*paṭṭa*) for the purpose of making it a permanent charter. A copper-plate grant is known to have been called *tāmra-śāsana*, *tāmra-paṭṭa*, *tāmra-paṭṭikā*, etc., and also merely *tāmra*, *paṭṭa*, *paṭṭikā*, etc. From this, the gift land also came to be called *tāmra*, *śāsana*, etc. That the charters were sometimes written on perishable materials is suggested by the Kurud plates of king Narendra of Śarabhapura in South Kosala. The record speaks of an earlier grant of

about the close of the fifth century A.D., which was written on palmyra leaves and was issued by a king who seems to be a Gupta emperor of Pāṭaliputra. Narendra issued his charter when an appeal was made to him on the destruction of the earlier record.

The description of the king making a grant, of his three immediate predecessors and of the donee formed a part of the document according to the Dharmaśāstras. It also included details about the boundaries of the gift land and its measurement, etc., as well as the donor's request to the effect that future rulers should not resume the land.

Such grants were valuable to the donee, since their loss changed the rent-free lands in his possession to revenue-paying property. Of course it was possible for him to arrange for a fresh grant from the ruling authority in respect of the land in question as we have seen from the Kurud plates. The Nidhanpur plates record a grant which was originally made by the Kāmarūpa king Mahābhūtivarman (*circa* 518-42 A.D.); but the grant had to be re-issued by his great-great-grandson Bhāskaravarman (*circa* 600-50 A. D.) a century later, because the original charter had been burnt in a fire accident. The copper-plate grants were, therefore, preserved very carefully, sometimes in stone coffers or earthen jars hidden underground. We have instances of a donee or his descendant having carried such documents with him when he had to go to a distant place on pilgrimage. The gift lands were generally made free from payment of taxes. There are, however, some records which speak of a cess to be collected from the donee in certain cases. According to the records called *kara-śāsana*, land was granted with a stipulation regarding the payment of a small amount as annual rent by the donee. Sometimes state land, especially fallow land, sold to a party at a cheap rate, was made a rent free holding. This led to the reclamation of unproductive state land.

The Dharmaśāstras say how a *lekhya* (document) was

endowed with the royal seal and the king's signature and how the date of its issue had to be mentioned in it. The draft of the charter was prepared by a high officer of the king such as the minister for war and peace. The *Vyāsasmṛti*, which may be assigned to the sixth century A. D., says that the draft of a charter should be written first either on a slab or on the floor with a piece of chalk and should be re-written later on the proper object after correction. The Dharmaśāstras condemn the preparation of false documents.

The description of royal charters as noticed in the Dharmaśāstras agrees with some, but not all, of the actual specimens of copper-plate grants so far discovered in various parts of the country.

2. Early Specimens

The earliest of copper-plate charters, so far discovered, come from South India and may be assigned to a date about the middle of the fourth century A. D. They are certain Prakrit grants issued by rulers of dynasties like the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma, Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī and Pallavas of Kāñcī. As regards other parts of the country, the Kalāchalā (Kathiawar, Gujarat) plate of Īśvararāta has been assigned to the latter half of the fourth century, while the genuine copper-plate grants of the Guptas are not earlier than the days of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A. D.). However, the texts of some earlier grants issued by certain rulers belonging to the Śaka and Śātavāhana dynasties, who flourished in the second century A. D., are found engraved on the walls of a number of West Indian caves including those in the Nasik hills. There are earlier metallic records such as the Sohgaura bronze plaque, the Taxila and Kalawan copper plates and the Taxila silver scroll inscription; but they are not *śāsanas* of the type discussed above. However, royal charters are said to have also been incised on gold plates.

Originally copper-plates of small size were used in writing royal documents meant for recording the grants of land. They were slightly bigger in size when only one plate was employed in writing a charter than when several of them were utilised. Such records usually mentioned the name of the donor alone, though sometimes his father's name was added. In many cases, however, the donor is introduced in the record as the son, grandson and great-grandson of particular rulers ; but such details are generally absent from single-plate records of smaller size. A *praśasti*, i.e. an elaborate description of the achievements of the donor of a grant and his ancestors, usually finds a place in many of the later copper-plate inscriptions.

Among the early ruling families which used more than one plate of copper for their documents, mention may be made of the Pallavas and Kadambas of South India, the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha, the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Bhauma-Nārakas of Prāgjyotiṣa in Assam. The Nidhanpur inscription of the Bhauma-Nāraka king Bhāskaravarman (seventh century A. D.) was originally written in at least about one hundred and seventy lines on no less than six or seven copper-plates, a few of which remain as yet untraced.

Some rulers of Western India, e.g. those of the Kathiawar region of Gujarat, issued charters engraved on the inner sides of two plates, the outer sides of the plates remaining blank. Many of the multi-plate records of the early period were, however, written on three plates of copper.

3. Later Specimens

The copper-plate grants of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa speak of themselves as *triphalī-tāmraśāsana*, i.e. deeds incised on three plates or tablets of copper. The outer sides of the first and third plates of such documents are generally blank. This practice was apparently meant for avoidance of the writing being rubbed off. The borders of the inscribed sides o

the heavier plates were sometimes slightly raised so that the writing might not suffer from friction. One of the biggest of such three-plate documents is the Paiṭhan copper-plate grant (1272 A. D.) of the Yādava king Rāmacandra of Devagiri. The plates are each $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches or 76 cm. in length by 15 inches or 38 cm. in width and together weigh 2,300 *tolās* ($27\frac{1}{4}$ kilograms or 58 lbs.). The plates are strung on two copper rings together weighing 457 *tolās* ($5\frac{1}{2}$ kilograms or 12 lbs.), one of them bearing the royal seal with the emblem of Garuḍa. The weight of the charter including the plates and the rings with the seal is thus 2,757 *tolās* (32 kilograms or 70 lbs.). There are no less than one hundred and eighteen lines of writing on the three plates.

A tendency to introduce, in the copper-plate grants, an elaborate eulogy of the donor and his ancestors developed gradually. This is noticed usually in the charters issued by rulers claiming imperial status. As a result of this development, even those dynasties which engraved their grants on single plates, such as the Pālas and Senas of Eastern India, had to use copper plates of a bigger size. Thus the Monghyr plate of the Pāla emperor Devapāla measures $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches or 50 cm. by $13\frac{7}{8}$ inches or $35\frac{1}{2}$ cm., and the Naihāṭi plate of the Sena monarch Ballālasena 15 inches or 38 cm. by $13\frac{5}{8}$ inches or $34\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Such inscriptions often contain about seventy lines of writing. The weight of a single plate (measuring 19 by 13 inches or $48\frac{1}{4}$ by 33 cm.), without any seal attached to it, bearing an inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra (*circa* 1114-55 A. D.) in twenty-four lines engraved on only one of its faces, and now preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī, is $372\frac{1}{2}$ *tolās* ($4\frac{1}{3}$ kilograms or $9\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.).

The charters of the Eastern Gaṅga emperors of medieval Orissa were generally engraved on six or seven plates which, together with the ring on which the seal was affixed, often weigh more than one thousand *tolās* ($11\frac{1}{3}$ kilograms or 25 lbs.).

One of the Purī copper-plate inscriptions of Gaṅga Narasiṁha IV (accession 1378 A. D.), contains two hundred and seventy-eight lines of writing.

The biggest copper-plate records, so far discovered, belong to the Coḷa dynasty of the Thanjavur-Tiruchirapalli region of South India. The larger one of the Leiden copper-plate charters of king Rājarāja I (985-1016 A. D.) has four hundred and forty-three lines of writing incised on as many as twenty-one plates. The Tiruvalaṅgāḍu copper-plate grant, dated in the sixth regnal year of Rājarāja's son, king Rājendra I (1012-44 A. D.), is written on thirty-one plates bearing eight hundred and sixteen lines of writing. The total weight of the plates, together with the massive seal-ring, is 7,980 *tolās* (91½ kilograms or 200 lbs.).

The biggest of copper-plate grants so far discovered is the Karandai inscription of the eighth regnal year of the Coḷa king Rājendra I. It is engraved on no less than fifty-five plates, each measuring 16½ inches or 42 cm. by 9½ inches or 24 cm. and together weighing, even without the seal-ring, as much as 8,645 *tolās* (98 kilograms or 217 lbs.). The weight of a seal-ring found with the plates is 753 *tolās* (7¾ kilograms or 17 lbs.). The inscription, the total weight of which seems to have been about 10,151 *tolās* (115¼ kilograms or 254 lbs.), contains more than two thousand and five hundred lines of writing. The first three plates of the record contain one hundred and thirty-one lines which give the genealogy of the Coḷas upto Rājendra I and record the gift of a village in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas. The next twenty-two plates contain one thousand and forty-one lines which give us a eulogy of the king and also a description of the boundaries of the gift village together with the name of the officials and other persons associated with the grant recorded in the document. The last thirty plates have one thousand three hundred and sixty seven lines which quote the names of he donees together with their *gotras*, places of residence, etc.

The number of donees enumerated in this part of the record is one thousand and seventy-three.

While describing the boundless liberality of his hero or patron, a poet sometimes referred to the dearth of copper on the earth resulting from the issue of innumerable copper-plate charters by the former. When we notice the great bulk of the copper charters of the Coḷa kings, it has to be admitted that the statement, even though hyperbolic in nature, may not, at least in some cases, be totally without a foundation.

4. Seals

To impart authenticity to copper-plate grants, issued by kings, royal seals were affixed to the records. Some of the ruling families used to incise the figure of their crest or a replica of the stamp of their seal on the plates, generally above the beginning of the record, in preference to affixing their seal to the charters. The figure was sometimes engraved below the end of writing and the seal mark in some cases to the right of the writing of the first part of the document.

The seals are of various types. In some cases, they are small in size and contain only the representation of the emblem that was the crest of the donor's family. Often, however, the name of the donor of the grant is found in addition to the family emblem. Sometimes such emblems were associated with the religious persuasion of particular royal families. Śaivism having been the dominant religion in different parts of India in all the ages of her history, the representation of the bull, regarded as Śiva's *vāhana* called Nandin, is noticed on the seals of royal as well as private personages in a very large number of cases. Numerous seals also bear emblems without any appreciable religious association. There are many seals which show only the legend, but no emblem.

The royal seals are, in some cases, large in size, the legends on such seals often mentioning the name of the king and those

of his ancestors. Sometimes the large seals have the upper half of their surface covered by the emblem or emblems and the lower half by the legend.

Seals of clay and other materials belonging to kings, royal officials and private individuals as well as of administrative, mercantile and religious organizations have been discovered in large numbers in various sites of North India. The writing on such seals is generally positive ; but there are many with legends in negative writing and these were apparently used in sealing documents. Personal clay seals, both baked and unbaked, sometimes accompanied the persons' votive offerings in a religious establishment.

We have seen above that some royal families preferred to incise their charters on single plates of copper, while others used to engrave their grants on a number of plates. In the case of single-plate documents, the seal was soldered to the top or left of the plate. When the seal was affixed to the top, the writing on the plate was usually breadthwise ; but the plates bearing the seal on the left margin have writing on them lengthwise. For the single plates, the seals, which were generally moulded in bronze, were so made as to have one knob or a few knobs on the back side. The plate had one or more holes in a projection beyond the margin, and the knob or knobs on the back of the seal were pushed through the said hole or holes. The back side of the seal was then affixed to the projected part of the plate with a lump of molten or semi-molten lead, which totally covered the area together with the knobs. Sometimes, such single plates had no projection beyond the margin, and the holes, which were meant for the knobs on the back of the seal to pass through, were bored on the border of the plate itself.

When a charter was engraved on more plates than one, they were strung together on a ring that passed through a hole in the left end (rarely on a projection at the top) of each of the

plates, while the seal was soldered to the ring. The seal was usually of bronze and the ring of copper. The former was placed outside the joint of the latter and was fixed with the help of a lump of molten or semi-molten lead completely covering the said part of the ring.

In the multi-plate charters of some royal families (e.g., the copper-plate grants of the Maitrakas of Valabhī), the plates were strung together on two rings. In such cases, the seal was affixed to only one of the rings.

V. Dating Of The Records

1. Regnal Reckoning and Eras

There are many early Indian records which do not bear any date at all. The dated inscriptions of the early period also merely quote particular years of the reign of a ruling monarch and do not refer to any era. This was because there was no popular era in ancient India. The custom of using the years of an era in dating both royal and private records was popularised in India by foreigners like the Scytho-Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas. We owe both our Vikrama Saṁvat (starting from 58 B.C.) and Śaka era (commencing from 78 A. D.) to these foreigners. Kings and their subjects in many parts of India continued to date their documents in the regnal reckoning of the rulers even long after the introduction of the use of an era.

There are some eras in India, the epochs of which fall long before the advent of the foreigners, e.g., the Kali-yuga era of 3202 B. C. and the Jain and Buddhist Nirvāṇa eras starting from some dates in the sixth or fifth century B. C. These eras were, however, fabricated and popularised at a much later date. This is clearly indicated by the absence of their use in any very early document. The Vikrama and Śaka eras are the earliest historical reckonings of India.

From about the first century B. C., many of the epigraphs of West Pakistan and the neighbouring regions are dated according to eras which were really regnal reckonings of particular kings continued by their successors. A few new eras were founded later in other parts of the country. Some of our eras are : (1) the old Śaka-Pahlava era of 58 B.C., later known as the Kṛta, Mālava or Vikrama era ; (2) the era of 78 A. D., apparently counted from the first year of the reign of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka I and later known as the Śaka era, (3) the era of 248 A. D., used originally by the Ābhīras, Traikūṭakas and Kalacuris of the region about Northern Maharashtra ; (4) the Gupta or Valabhī era of 319 or 320 A. D., started by the Guptas of Magadha, with its use continued by their feudatories like the Maitrakas of Valabhī ; and (5) the Harṣa era of 606 A. D., started from the accession of king Harṣavardhana of Thaneswar and Kanauj and used by the families originally owing allegiance to the said monarch. The records dated in any of the said eras have been of considerable help in solving many of the problems of chronology in the history of ancient India.

The use of era was popularised in West Asia by the Seleucids and Parthians, their eras starting from the foundation respectively of the Seleucid empire in 311 B.C. and the Parthian kingdom in 247 B.C. The Śaka-Pahlava era of 58 B.C. originated in Drangiana (East Iran) with the foundation of an independent kingdom probably under the Parthian ruler Vonones, and its use was carried to the Indus Valley and the Punjab and its neighbourhood apparently by the Śakas settled in that region. It was then carried to the regions of Rajasthan and Malwa by the Mālavas who originally lived in the Pakistan part of the Punjab. From Rajasthan, the use of the said era was carried to Uttar Pradesh by the Maukharis. Its popularity in North India gradually increased owing to its adoption by powerful imperial families of that region like the Gurjara-

Pratīhāras of Kanauj. About the eighth century A.D., the old Śaka-Pahlava era of 58 B.C. came to be associated with king Śakāri Vikramāditya of Indian tradition which must have developed on the basis of the achievements of the Gupta Vikramādityas, specially those of Candragupta II (376-414 A.D.), the celebrated extirpator of the Śaka rulers of Western India.

The use of the Śaka era, which must have originated from the accession of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka I in 78 A. D. as we have seen, was continued by the Śakas of Western India, who were originally the Satraps (viceroys and feudatories) of the Kuṣāṇas, till the close of their rule about the end of the fourth century A.D. Owing to the continued use of the era by the said Śakas, it came to be known in Western India and the neighbouring areas as 'the era of the Śaka kings'. The earliest epigraphic record in which the name of the Śakas is associated with the era is the Hisse-Borala (Akola District, Maharashtra) inscription of Vākāṭaka Devasena, dated in the year 380 (458 A.D.). The great popularity of the era in Southern India was due to its adoption by the Cālukya emperors of Bādāmi in the first half of the sixth century.

An important factor contributing greatly to the spread of both the Vikrama and Śaka eras was their acceptance by the Ujjayinī school of astronomers and by the Jains who were to a great extent responsible for the development of the Śaka-Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya sagas. The popularity of the Śaka era in the Kannaḍa-speaking area of the Deccan was probably the result of the influence of Jain astronomers and statesmen employed at the courts of the rulers of Karṇāṭaka.

2. Details of the Dates

The earlier Indian records usually quote only the year of the date, whether in the regnal reckoning of a king or in an era,

without any other detail. In the inscriptions of some of the early indigenous rulers of a slightly later date, the day is quoted as belonging to particular fortnights of any of the three seasons that formed the official year, viz., summer, rains and. winter. The said seasons, each of which was divided into eight fortnights, ended on the full-moon days of the lunar months of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna respectively.

The foreign rulers usually referred to the month (sometimes of the Indian, but sometimes of the Macedonian or Parthian calendar) instead of the season. The use of the *nakṣatra* is also rarely found in the early records. The quotation of a day of the bright or dark fortnight of a particular month became gradually popular. The week-day, which is so important in the verification of a date, is first noticed in the Eran (Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription of the reign of Budhagupta, dated in the Gupta year 165 (484 A.D.). Inscriptions of the medieval period generally refer to the week-day and sometimes also to various other details like the *nakṣatra*, *karaṇa*, etc. Like all important undertakings, grants of land, etc., were also made by Indian rulers on auspicious occasions such as the new moon, full moon, eclipses of the sun or the moon, the vernal and autumnal equinoxes and the sun's entry into a sign of the zodiac.

3. Number Expressed in Words and Letters

In the inscriptions of the early medieval period, often the numbers in the dates are indicated by words having an indirect numerical sense. This development was due to the following fact. Works on astronomy, mathematics, etc., were composed in India in verse, and, since they required the repeated mention of the same numbers in the setting and solution of problems (e.g. in arithmetical sums), the authors needed more words to

indicate a single number because the repetition of the same word in the same sense had to be avoided. Thus a word like *kara* meaning 'hand' was used to signify '2' since human beings have only two hands, and the word *vasu* was taken to indicate '8' because there are eight Vasus in Indian mythology. The general custom was to reckon the different figures enumerated in the above fashion from right to left. Thus *kara-vasu* would mean 82, and not 28.

When there was more than one tradition regarding the number associated with a particular object, only one of them was adopted by the astronomers and mathematicians. Thus although the Vedas were traditionally three or four in number and the oceans (*samudra*, etc.) were four or seven, the words were used respectively in the senses of 4 and 7 only, because precision was essential in scientific treatises. Unfortunately uncritical writers of the medieval age sometimes violated the old convention and introduced confusion by using one word in more than one numerical sense.

There were several systems of reckoning numbers with the help of the letters of the alphabet. One such system is first noticed in Āryabhaṭa's work composed in 499 A.D., according to which the 25 consonants from *ka* to *ma* indicate 1 to 25 and the 8 letters from *ya* to *ha* 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 respectively. The decimal system of writing numbers was not known to Āryabhaṭa.

South Indian inscriptions of a late period sometimes express numbers with the letters of the alphabet according to the system which is known as *Kaṭapayādi*. According to this system, the ten letters from *ka* to *ña* have respectively the values of 1 to 9 and 0. Similar is the case with the ten letters from *ṭa* to *na* and the nine letters from *ya* to *ḷa*, while the five letters from *pa* to *ma* had the values of 1 to 5 respectively. In this system also, the principle of reckoning from right to left

was followed in the formation of chronograms. Thus *ga* stands for 3 and *ja* for 8, while *gaja* indicates 83 and not 38.

VI. Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions Outside India

A large number of documents in the Prakrit and Sanskrit languages, written in the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī alphabets have been discovered in Central Asia. The Prakrit-Kharoṣṭhī documents, discovered by Aurel Stein between 1900 and 1916 in the regions of Niya, Tun-huang, Endere, etc., of Chinese Turkestan, are written in ink on wedge-shaped wooden tablets. They belong mostly to the third and fourth centuries A.D. A Prakrit-Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the time of Huviṣka has been found engraved on a bronze vase discovered in the ruins of a Buddhist establishment at Wardak about thirty miles from Kābul (Afghanistan). An image of the god Vināyaka, found at Gardez about seventy miles to the south of Kābul, bears an inscription (of about the 7th century A.D.) in Sanskrit written in the Siddhamātṛkā alphabet which is a derivative of Brāhmī. Some Sanskrit inscriptions have been recently discovered in the Central Asian Republics of the USSR. There are a few stone inscriptions in China, which contain the Sanskrit texts of Buddhist Dhāraṇīs written in the Siddham (Siddhamātṛkā) script.

The popularity of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and other territories of South-East Asia is responsible for Pali being the language of culture in the said regions. Most of the early epigraphs of Ceylon are written in Prakrit or Pali, with very few written in Sanskrit. Inscriptions from Burma sometimes quote Pali Buddhist texts ; but some records like those of the Candra kings of Arakan are written in Sanskrit.

Inscriptions in the Sanskrit language, written in Late Brāhmī and in the derivatives of Brāhmī and often bearing

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dates in the Śaka era, have been found in large numbers in Indonesia and Indochina. Such epigraphs were usually engraved on stone. The practice of issuing charters engraved on copper plates was not popular with the rulers of those lands. As yet only a few copper-plate grants have been found there, one of which, issued by the Candra dynasty of Arakan (Burma), has been recently published. The epigraphs discovered in Indochina and Indonesia have been of great help to scholars in the reconstruction of the early history of those territories, which was, like that of India, shrouded in obscurity. These records, moreover, tell us the interesting story of the spread of Indian culture in the said areas from different parts of both Northern and Southern India, especially the coastal regions. The merchants from various ports on the Western sea-board of India appear to have carried the Śaka era to South-East Asia from the kingdom of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. The extent of Hinduisation in Indochina and Indonesia is clear from the adoption of Indian or Sanskrit names for persons and places and of the Indian way of life and of such Indian deities as Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Buddha as well as from the great regard for Sanskrit learning (for Pali in some areas) and Indian social and religious institutions.

Of the countries of Indonesia and Indochina, the largest number of Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Cambodia. Many of these records are beautiful *kāvyas* running into many stanzas in various metres. The Mebon (Śaka 874) and Pre Rup (Śaka 883) inscriptions of king Rājendravarman of Cambodia contain 218 and 298 stanzas respectively. The use of the Śaka era is noticed in these epigraphs for the first time in the Roban Romas inscription of the year 520 (598 A.D.) while the earliest record using the decimal system of expressing numbers is the Sambaur pillar inscription of Śaka 604 or 605 corresponding to 682 or 683 A.D.

Inscriptions prove the existence of an exceptionally flourish-

ing state of Sanskrit learning in Cambodia. The Kambuja king Yaśovarman is said to have written a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and a minister of the same monarch is represented as an expert in the *horāśāstra* (astrology). A local literature, influenced by Indian literary tradition, however, did not develop in that country as it did in Java, the name of which, derived from the Sanskrit word *yava*, 'barley', is first noticed in Ptolemy's *Geography* composed in the second century A.D.

The earliest inscriptions discovered in Indonesia, written in Sanskrit verse, are short in size. Many of the early medieval epigraphs of the place are composed in ornate *kāvya* style, though their size is not as big as that of the Cambodian records. The Sanskrit inscriptions found in the ancient kingdom of Campā in the southern part of Annam are numerous ; but they are not usually very big in size. However, the Dong Duong inscription (Śaka 797=875 A. D.) of king Indravarman II contains 24, 24, 23 and 31 (i.e. 102) lines of writing incised on four faces of a pillar.

An inscription of the fifth century A. D., discovered in the Wellesley District of Malay Peninsula, is a Sanskrit record belonging to the Buddhist *Mahānāvika* (captain of a ship) named Buddhagupta who was an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā near the Chiruti railway station in the Murshidabad District of West Bengal.

Just like the inscriptions of South India, the epigraphic records of South-East Asia exhibit the gradual appearance of the regional languages. For a long time Sanskrit and the regional language were both used in the epigraphy of many of the countries of Indochina and Indonesia.

Part II

PALAEOGRAPHY*

I. Early Writings

1. Antiquity of Writing in India

There was a controversy regarding the antiquity of the knowledge of writing in India. Some scholars thought that the Indians secured this knowledge from some foreign source and suggested that the ancient literary works of the country, which are believed to have been generally learnt from the teacher's mouth without the help of books, do not exhibit any knowledge of writing. Among these scholars, Georg Bühler tried to prove that the Brāhmī alphabet was introduced into India from Arabia in the 8th century B. C. or even earlier. Alexander Cunningham, on the other hand, believed in the indigenous origin of the Brāhmī script and thought that the Indians invented the alphabet about the 10th century B.C. He thought that the Indian origin of Brāhmī is indicated by some *akṣaras* like *ga* which is related to Sanskrit *gagana*, 'the sky', and has the hemispherical or semi-oval shape of the dome of sky.

The discovery of prehistoric writing in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has put the said controversy in a new setting. There is no doubt now that writing was known to the people of ancient India ; but a problem is created by the wide gap between the prehistoric writing (assigned to the third millennium and the early centuries of the second millennium B. C.) and the earliest form of Brāhmī prevalent in the third century

*Lecture delivered at the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, on 25.11.70.

B.C. and a little earlier. It is moreover difficult to establish the relationship between the two writings without specimens of the intervening period, even though the possibility of such a relationship cannot be ignored.

The pre-Aryan population at least of the north-western regions of the sub-continent were used to writing many centuries before the advent of the Aryans in the country about the middle of the second millennium B. C. This has to be considered along with the fact that the popularity of the union of Aryan males and Nonaryan females resulted in considerable modification of the socio-religious life of the Aryans as early as the age of the *Ṛgveda* (*circa* 1400-1000 B.C.). It may be that the Aryan new-comers, who had no knowledge of writing, gradually obtained the knowledge from the Nonaryans subdued by them, even though writing may not have at first been quite popular with the Aryans. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* mentions *daśa* (10) and its multiples like *śata* (100) and *sahasra* (1000) upto *parārdha* (10,00,00,00,00,000), and calculation of such high numbers seems to presuppose the knowledge of writing.

About the middle of the first millennium B.C., Pāṇini refers to writing (*lipi*, *libi*) and to writers (*lipikara*), especially to Greek writing (*yavanānī*), while Brāhmī *akṣaras* occur on the Persian silver coins called *Siglos* introduced in the north-western areas of the sub-continent then under the rule of the Achaemenians (from the sixth to the fourth century B. C.) of Iran.

In this connection, reference is sometimes made to the eighteen alphabets enumerated in the Jain *Paṇṇavaṇā* and *Samavāyāṅga Sūtras* as well as to the sixty-four scripts mentioned in a list occurring in the *Lalitavistara* which was translated into Chinese in 308 A. D. Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī are mentioned in both the lists ; but neither of the lists is old. Reference to Śakāri lipi, Hūṇa-lipi, etc., show clearly that the *Lalitavistara* list is later than the fifth century A. D. Many of the names in the two lists are unintelligible and obviously imagi-

nary. Aṅga-lipi, Vaṅga-lipi, Drāviḍa-lipi, Kanāri-lipi, Uttarakurudvīpa-lipi, Aparagauḍādi-lipi and Pūrvavideha-lipi are some of the intelligible names in the *Lalitavistara* ; but Kanāri-lipi or the Kannaḍa alphabet brings the list to an early medieval date.

The Sanskrit words for a letter of the alphabet is *akṣara* 'indelible', or *varṇa*, 'colour', both found in the later Vedic literature, and the alphabet is called *lipi*, 'a painting' (from the root *lip*). The word *patra* means both 'a leaf' and 'a written document', and the word *paṭṭa* both 'a slab or tablet' and 'a record written on a slab or tablet'. The above words thus show that the practices of engraving letters on a hard object and drawing them in ink or colour were both prevalent in the country.

2. Prehistoric Writing

About the close of the last century, a seal bearing the emblem of a bull and a legend in six characters was obtained from Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, now in West Pakistan. In the twenties of the present century, hundreds of seals bearing legends in similar characters were excavated from Mohenjodaro in the Larkana District of Sind (West Pakistan) as well as from Harappa. Recently similar seals have been unearthed from Indian sites, viz. Lothal in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat and Kalibangan in the Ganganagar region of the Bikaner Division of Rajasthan. A number of scholars, both foreign and Indian, have made attempts to read the writing on the seals ; but no satisfactory results have as yet been achieved. In the absence of any bilingual and biscriptal record in which the writing of the seals would appear side by side along with its translation into a known language in a known writing, some people are reading

Sanskrit and others Tamil in the prehistoric seal legends. The language in which the legends have been written, however, remains as yet unknown. The fact, moreover, that certain typical Dravidian sounds in Tamil are written in the Drāviḍī form of Early Brāhmī with diacritical marks added to the letters *na*, *ra* and *la* of the Aryan alphabet, as we shall see below, may suggest that the prehistoric Indian writing was not particularly meant to write the Dravidian language.

Scholars have noticed a few broad phases in the development of writing since it first emerged about the close of the fourth millennium B.C. in Western Asia and Northern Africa. In the earliest of the phases, man expressed his ideas by drawing pictures, and in this picture-writing, a picture represented a whole word or vocal expression indicating an idea or an object. Gradually, as time passed on, the pictures came to convey something more than their visual implications, while the shapes of the pictures were also undergoing slight modifications in course of time. Thus the pictographs came to be ideographic symbols. The next phase of development witnessed the evolution of phonetic values of some of the hundreds of symbols so that those became syllabic symbols whereas the others remained ideographic signs. At the following stage, alphabetic value of some of the syllabic symbols gradually developed. At first most of the signs remained syllabic. only a few becoming alphabetic ; later a limited number of symbols bearing alphabetical value was found sufficient to write the language. The writing on the prehistoric seals discovered in India belongs to a transitional stage between the last two stages, its symbols being partly syllabic and partly alphabetic.

It is possible that, just as the Japanese alphabet was created by selecting about fifty out of the hundreds of symbols used in the Chinese writing, the Brāhmī alphabet was created, in order to write the Aryan language, out of the prehistoric Indian writ-

ing a few centuries before the rise of the Mauryas in the latter half of the fourth century B. C.

3. Aramaic and Greek

For about two hundred years from the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., the Udīcya or Uttarāpatha division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārīdvīpa, lying between the Eastern Punjab and the Oxus, was under the domination of the Achaemenian emperors of Iran (Persia). The Aramaic language and alphabet were then introduced in this region. We have already mentioned a few Aramaic inscriptions discovered there. They mostly belong to the Maurya emperor Aśoka and come from West Pakistan and Afghanistan. A minor rock edict of Aśoka in two versions, viz., Aramaic and Greek, has been found near Kandahar in Afghanistan. These versions were apparently meant for the Iranian (Kamboja) and Greek (Yavana) subjects of Aśoka as we have already said.

With the Greek occupation of the Achaemenian empire in the second half of the fourth century B. C., Greek settlements developed in various parts of Uttarāpatha including Afghanistan. But about the close of the same century, Afghanistan passed into the possession of Candragupta (*circa* 324-300 B.C.), founder of the Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra (near modern Pāṭnā in Bihar). The Maurya emperor Aśoka (*circa* 269-232 B.C.), grandson of Candragupta, ruled over the major part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent as also over wide areas of Afghanistan. Besides the Aramaic and Greek versions of a minor rock edict of Aśoka discovered near Kandahar, we have at the same place the Greek rendering of a few of the major rock edicts of the Maurya emperor. The Greek language and alphabet were used in the coin legends of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas in the post-Maurya period. In the

legends of Kuṣāṇa coins, some time the Iranian or Bactrian matter is written in the Greek alphabet. A Kuṣāṇa inscription in the Bactrian language and the Greek alphabet has been found at Surkh-Kotal in Northern Afghanistan.

The Greek letters were subject to gradual modification. As early as the Kuṣāṇa age, we find the use of square omicron, W-like omega and C-like sigma.

4. Kharoṣṭhī

The edicts of Aśoka, discovered in the present Peshawar and Hazara Districts forming parts of ancient Udīcya or Uttarāpatha, are written in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet to be read from right to left like the Semitic scripts. Kharoṣṭhī was an Indian modification of the old Aramaic script of Western Asia, which, as indicated above, was popularized in North-Western Bhāratavarṣa (Kumārīdvīpa) during the rule of the Achaemenian emperors of Iran.

Some scholars think that the correct name of the script is Kharoṣṭrī, and there is a controversy about the meaning of the name. According to some, Kharoṣṭhī was so called because many of the letters look like mule's lips (*khar-auṣṭha*). Probably it is an Indian modification of an Aramaic word.

For the decipherment of Kharoṣṭhī, credit has to be given to a number of European scholars like Prinsep, Lassen, Norris and Cunningham. Help was rendered in this connection by the Prakrit translations of Greek legends on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings and their successors. The Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī versions of Aśoka's rock edicts helped their earlier students to check the reading of one with the help of the other.

Kharoṣṭhī flourished for several centuries in Uttarāpatha and the neighbouring areas of Central Asia and afterwards died a natural death, as it was not quite suited for transcribing

words of the Sanskrit language. The latest Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in India are those discovered at Taxila. They have been assigned to the fifth century A.D. The use of another early Indian alphabet called Brāhmī gradually spread not only to the north-western regions of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, but also to the territories of Central Asia. The earliest Brāhmī-Sanskrit record from the heart of the Kharoṣṭhī-Prakrit region is the Abbottābād (Hazara District) inscription of the third century A. D.

The inscriptions of the Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa ages discovered in West Pakistan and Afghanistan are in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and the Prakrit language. This alphabet was introduced in the countries of Central Asia during the age of the Kuṣāṇas. Among the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts discovered in Central Asia, mention may be made of a copy of the Prakrit *Dhammapada* (2nd century A.D.). We have mentioned above some interesting records in this script, which are written on rectangular and wedge-shaped wooden tablets discovered in Central Asia. Their language is Prakrit, often greatly influenced by Sanskrit and the local dialects. Such epigraphs found at Niya have been assigned to the third century A.D., while some of them coming from Kucha belong to dates about four centuries later. As in the north-western regions of Indo-Pakistan, in Central Asia also, the use of Kharoṣṭhī died out owing to the growing popularity of Brāhmī and its derivatives.

Some modification of Kharoṣṭhī writing throughout the centuries has been traced. Thus the letter *sa* has its mouth closed in the Maurya inscriptions, partially open in Indo-Greek records and fully open in Kuṣāṇa documents.

5. Brahmī

Maurya inscriptions, which have been found outside the Uttarāpatha division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa (Kumārīdvīpa),

are written in the Brāhmī alphabet and the Prakrit language. This alphabet is to be read from left to right. The name Brāhmī is supposed to associate the alphabet with Brahman, the Hindu god of creation.

There is a controversy about the origin of Brāhmī as we have seen above. Some scholars think that the Brāhmī alphabet developed in India while others believe that it is an Indian modification of a foreign alphabet exactly like Kharoṣṭhī. But the second of the two theories has not been proved beyond doubt. The discovery of the prehistoric seals prove the existence of the knowledge of writing in pre-Aryan India and the development of the Brāhmī alphabet, as noticed above, may have been the result of an attempt to write the language of the Aryans in the alien script of the prehistoric peoples of India. The contention that, like Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī was also originally written from right to left is unwarranted.

In the eighteenth century when wide areas of India were occupied by the Britishers, no Indian was capable of reading the inscriptions written in Brāhmī. European scholars tried to read first the early medieval records with the help of their knowledge of late medieval writing and, on repeated attempts, succeeded in deciphering still earlier inscriptions. In this way, they succeeded in reading some Late Brāhmī epigraphs of the Gupta age ; but Early Brāhmī records of Aśoka's time still remained undeciphered, though the value of a few letters was correctly determined by several scholars such as Stevenson, Lassen and Prinsep. The Brāhmī-Prakrit translation of the Greek legend on some coins of the Indo-Greek kings Agathocles and Panta leon was of some help. At last James Prinsep recognised a number of small Sanchi inscriptions as votive documents which ended with the same letters indicating that they recorded the object to have been the gift of somebody. Then the *akṣaras* ...*sa dānaṁ* (Sanskrit ···*sya dānaṁ*) were read by him and soon

he succeeded in deciphering the whole alphabet of Aśokan Brāhmī.

Brāhmī is the mother not only of the Indian alphabets of today, but also of the scripts of most of the other countries which came in early times under the influence of Indian civilization. The alphabets of Ceylon, Tibet, Indochina and Indonesia are derivatives of the Indian Brāhmī script as we shall see below.

In modern times, the letters of an alphabet are learnt from their fixed forms supplied by the printed text-books. In the olden days, however, the knowledge of writing was transmitted from teacher to pupil. The lack of a definitely fixed model of individual letters as well as the natural eagerness of man to write quickly led to the gradual modification in the forms of Brāhmī letters. The development of different shapes of particular letters in different regions was often due to the scribes commencing to write a letter not from the same point, i.e. from the top or the left or the right. A letter was first modified at the points where the pen began to form it and left it after completion. Such factors ultimately gave rise to the various regional alphabets of India. The same process also worked in the development of many of the alphabets prevalent in various parts of South-East Asia, where the Brāhmī script was introduced in olden times.

In some regions, however, the introduction of Brāhmī did not produce a lasting result. Thus Brāhmī was introduced in Central Asia during the Gupta age. A number of Sanskrit manuscripts in Late Brāhmī characters have been found in that region. The alphabet was gradually modified and gave rise to such local scripts as the Kuchean and Khotanese. The use of these derivatives of Brāhmī, however, soon disappeared from Central Asia.

II. Varieties And Early Derivatives Of Brāhmī

1. Early, Middle and Late Brāhmī

The modification of the Brāhmī characters did not follow exactly the same lines in different regions, and this was responsible for giving rise to the different derivatives of the alphabet as we have hinted before.

The records in the Brāhmī alphabet may be divided into three classes, viz., (1) Early, (2) Middle and (3) Late. In North India, the inscriptions of the period between the 3rd and the 1st century B.C. may be regarded as belonging to the Early Brāhmī stage, while those of the periods between the 1st century B. C. and the 3rd century A. D. and between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. may be roughly characterised respectively as Middle and Late Brāhmī. In the South, Early Brāhmī continued till the 1st century B.C. in the upper areas, but upto the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. in the southernmost districts. Middle Brāhmī epigraphs of South India may be assigned roughly to the period between the 1st and the 4th century A.D., and inscriptions in the Late Brāhmī of the South to the period between the 4th and the 6th century A.D.

The letters found in the Early Brāhmī inscriptions of Aśoka exhibit certain variations. Although they have to be attributed largely to the individuality of different scribes and engravers, we may classify the records broadly into two groups, Northern and Southern, especially because certain early Tamil cave and potsherd inscriptions, in similar script (but of a much later date) that may be called the Drāviḍī form of Early Brāhmī, exhibit four characters, representing particular sounds peculiar to the Dravidian language which are not found elsewhere. It is interesting to note that, of these sounds, *n̤a*, *r̤a* and *l̤a* are written with diacritical marks added to *na*, *ra* and *la* of Early Brāhmī while *ḻa* may also be regarded as formed by another diacritical mark added to *la*. As indicated above, Early Brāhmī

continued in use for a longer period in the Tamil speaking area than elsewhere.

The epigraphs of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta ages may be assigned respectively to the Middle and Late Brāhmī stages of the North. Similarly, inscriptions of the Later Śātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region may be ascribed to the Middle Brāhmī of South India and the records of such dynasties as the Early Pallavas, Early Kadambas and Śālaṅkāyanas may be regarded as belonging to the Late Brāhmī stage of the South. Contemporary Brāhmī records of Western India generally exhibit characteristics of the Middle and Late Brāhmī of South India. In the said area, Late Brāhmī of the South developed, about the sixth century A.D., into the Telugu Kannaḍa alphabet which sprang about the same time from the said script in South India excluding its southernmost areas.

2. Modification of Early Brahmī Characters

One of the characteristics that distinguished Middle and Late Brāhmī from Early Brāhmī is the development of the serif mostly at the top of the letters in the former side by side with certain changes in the forms of the letters. The curvatures in the letters of Early Brāhmī, e.g. *pa*, *la* and *ha*, gradually became angular in Middle Brāhmī and the globular parts of letters like *kha*, *ma* and *va* came to be formed in the shape of a triangle. The vertical part of letters like *pa*, *pha* and *ha* became shorter while, in *ṇa*, *na*, *va*, etc., it was almost suppressed. On the other hand, the straight horizontal limbs of letters like *ka*, *ṇa* and *na* became curved in Middle Brāhmī. As regards the difference between the Middle and Late stages of Brāhmī, it is characterised by further modification of the forms of the letters. In certain cases, the changes of a letter between the Early and Late Brāhmī stages are so marked that it is difficult to regard the latter as a derivative of the former without keeping them

side by side with the corresponding forms in Middle Brāhmī; see, e.g., *ṇa*.

The serif developed from a thickening of the top of the letters. This resulted from the practice of marking the spots, whence individual letters would hang, in a straight line, in order to ensure the straightness of the lines of writing. The thickened tops gradually took a triangular and later an elongated form. Ultimately the serif became the longish top stroke in the Northern alphabets and the corresponding curved stroke in some of the Southern scripts.

3. 'Triangle-headed' and 'Box-headed' Alphabets

The triangular serif is sometimes noticed as a hollow triangle in some early medieval records like the Malga (Shahdol District, Madhya Pradesh) plates of Indrarāja of about the seventh century A. D. It had an interesting development in the so-called 'Nepalese hook' of Eastern India as we shall see below.

Certain inscriptions, coming from the central regions of India from Malwa in the north down to Mysore in the south and belonging to the period between the 4th and 7th centuries A.D., exhibit another peculiar development of the serif. In these, the letters hang down from a hollow or solid square looking like a box. The characters exhibit the forms of the Late Brāhmī of Northern or Southern India according to the findspot of the inscription. Their shapes gradually tended to become angular in the Berar and Chattisgarh regions which have supplied us with the largest number of inscriptions written in the box-headed characters.

4. Siddhamātṛkā

In North India, the regional alphabets developed from Brāhmī of the Late stage through a distinct step. The alphabet of this intermediate stage may be styled Siddhamātṛkā. Scholars have given various names to this alphabet, two of them,

often used, being Kuṭila and 'Early Nāgarī'. But the name Siddhamātṛkā is more authoritative since Al-Bīrūnī (eleventh century A. D.) uses this name for the alphabets of certain regions, and the Chinese applied the name Siddham to the same script.

The alphabet used in North Indian records of the period between the sixth and the tenth century A. D. may be regarded as Siddhamātṛkā specially in the wide areas where Nāgarī and Gauḍī developed out of it. In the north-western areas, the Siddhamātṛkā stage lasted for a short period to give rise to Early Kaśmīrī (Sāradā) about the 8th century A.D. About the same time, Siddhamātṛkā ousted Early Telugu-Kannaḍa from Western India.

Siddhamātṛkā was often used in the northern and western areas of the Deccan and rarely also in the Southern Deccan and the Far South, e.g., in the Pattadakal (Bijapur District, Mysore) pillar inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya II (c. 733-45 A.D.) and the Saluvankuppam (Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu) Atiraṇacaṇḍeśvara cave inscription ascribed to the Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (c. 731-96 A. D.). It gave rise to Southern Nāgarī about the tenth century A. D. The East Indian variety of the Siddhamātṛkā alphabet is designated by some scholars as 'Eastern Nāgarī'.

In the 7th century A. D., the Siddhamātṛkā alphabet was introduced in Tibet. The modern Tibetan alphabet is the same script with slight modification and adjustment. Buddhist *Dhāraṇīs* were written in the Siddhamātṛkā script in China and Japan till quite recent times.

5. Shell-character and Bhaikṣukī Writings

Some small epigraphs, found in different parts of India and roughly assignable to the period between the sixth and eleventh centuries A. D., exhibit characters which in certain cases resemble the shape of a conch-shell. The letters of the alpha-

bet is therefore called 'shell character'. But the characters are really ornamented forms of the letters of the local alphabets. In most cases, the letters cannot be recognised owing to the profusion of ornamentation.

A rare occurrence of a shell-character inscription outside India has been traced on the Ci-aruton (Java) rock near the footprint inscription of king Hastin.

In the Bhaikṣukī alphabet, letters are endowed with wedges or arrow-heads at the top and at the bends on the sides. It was the alphabet of the Buddhist monks of Bihar and its neighbourhood. In the eleventh century, Al-Bīrūnī regarded it as the alphabet of the Buddha (i.e., the Buddhists) prevalent at Udunpur in the Eastern division of India, probably meaning the Uddaṇḍapura monastery in Bihar.

III. Development Of The Northern Alphabets

1. Introductory Observations

In Kashmir and its neighbourhood, the Śāradā alphabet developed out of Siddhamātṛkā about the 8th century A.D. In writing the Kaśmīrī language, Nāgarī ousted Śāradā in the late medieval period. The Gurumukhī alphabet used by the Sikhs is a late modification of Śāradā for writing the Punjabi language while the Lahṇḍā is an allied cursive alphabet used by scribes, accountants and shop-keepers of the area in question. The Perso-Arabic alphabet superseded the regional alphabets of Sind and the North-West Frontier in the medieval period. It is also widely used in the Punjab-Haryana region.

In Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, Siddhamātṛkā gave rise to Eastern Nāgarī, while Western Nāgarī developed out of it in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, from about the tenth century A. D. in both cases. In Eastern India, Siddhamātṛkā gave rise, about the same time, to Gauḍī from which ultimately sprang the regional alphabets of Bengal, Bihar, Nepal, Assam and Orissa. The local alphabets of Nepal were

ousted by Nāgarī in the late medieval period. The Maithilī alphabet of North Bihar, which was originally used in some other parts of Bihar, was in use till quite recent times. But the Maithils have now adopted the Nāgarī alphabet, and Hindī is gradually ousting the Maithilī language from North Bihar.

One of the chief points of difference between Siddhamātṛkā and its derivatives is that the top *mātrā* is short in the former so that letters like *pa, pha, ma, ya, sa* and *ha* have an upper opening, while in the latter, the top *mātrā* is long enough to cover up the said opening.

2. Nāgarī and its Modifications

Hindī together with its various dialects and associated speeches such as Rājasthānī, Mālavī, Chatisgaḍhī, Avadhī, Bhojpurī, Maithilī, etc., as also Marāṭhī are now written in the Nāgarī alphabet. We have stated above how Nāgarī ousted the regional alphabets in Kashmir and Nepal in the late medieval period.

Nāgarī used in the Vārāṇasī region, which may be called 'Eastern Nāgarī', is slightly different from Western Nāgarī used in Jain manuscripts copied in the Rajasthan-Gujarat area and from the alphabet called Bālabodha which was adopted in writing Marāṭhī. The Jains published a few books in Western Nāgarī often called 'Jain Nāgarī' in which *ṛ, o, ca, ja, jha, ṭha, ḍa, bha,* etc., are different from the Eastern Nāgarī forms of the latters.

Originally Sanskrit books were written in different parts of India in the regional alphabets. But Nāgarī being prevalent in wide areas of the northern, central and western regions of India, many of the manuscripts of Sanskrit works were naturally written in that alphabet, and it appears that many learned Pandits of different parts of the country, some of whom had their education at the famous centres of learning in the Nāgarī-using area such as Vārāṇasī, were able to read manuscripts in

the Nāgarī script. A large number of manuscripts of Sanskrit works were collected by Early European investigators from the Nāgarī-using areas, and some of them were printed in Eastern Nāgarī in Europe as well as in India on the introduction of the printing press in this country. This gradually led to Nāgarī being regarded as the special alphabet of the Sanskrit language. It is now felt that a Sanskrit text printed in a regional alphabet can have only a limited publicity compared to one printed in Nāgarī characters. Nāgarī is therefore generally employed in Sanskrit books published in different parts of India in case they are meant for all-India circulation. Outside India, both Nāgarī and Roman characters are used for the same purpose. In writing Sanskrit in the Roman script, specially marked letters are used to indicate *ā, ī, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ, ṅa, ña, ṭa, ḍa, ṇa, śa, ṣa, ṁ, ḥ*, etc.

The Nāgarī alphabet may be classified as Early and Modern, the former being used in records dating from the 10th to the 14th century and the latter in those of the period from the 14th century onwards. One of the test letters distinguishing Early from Modern Nāgarī is *ja* which is of the Bengali type in the former. Medial *e* sign, which is a *śiro-mātrā* in modern Nāgarī, was usually a *pṛṣṭha-mātrā* in Early Nāgarī. One of the defects of Nāgarī writing is that the letter group *rava* may be confused with *kha* especially when no top *mātrā* or a whole line *mātrā* is used. *Sva* is also sometimes confused with *kha*.

Another defect of many Indian alphabets including Nāgarī and Bengali is that the letters are thick so that it is difficult to use 6-point and smaller types for printing as in the Roman script.

The Gujarātī alphabet is a slightly cursive form of Western Nāgarī. A similarly cursive and popular variety of Eastern Nāgarī used by scribes, accountants and shop-keepers is called Kāyethī. It has some variations in different areas. The Moḍī alphabet prevalent in the Marāṭhī-speaking area is an extremely cursive type of Western Nāgarī. A Bengali modification of

the Kāyethī script is known as 'the Sylhet Nāgarī' which is used by the Muslims of Sylhet in East Pakistan.

As a derivative of Siddhamātṛkā which was used in some parts of the Deccan and sometimes also in the Far South, Nāgarī was often used in the epigraphic and numismatic records of some of the royal families that ruled in the Deccan and the Far South during the medieval period. This South Indian Nāgarī gradually developed into what is called Nandi-Nāgarī.

The Patnulkārans or 'Saurāṣtra Brāhmaṇas' of Tamil Nadu, who are Gujarati weavers settled in the South, not only speak a dialect of Gujarātī, but also use an alphabet which is modified from the Gujarātī script and is also influenced by the Tamil alphabet. The Saurāṣṭra alphabet uses short and long forms of *e* and *o* in the fashion of South Indian alphabets.

3. Gauḍī

Gauḍī, i.e. the East Indian derivative of the Siddhamātṛkā alphabet, was used in Bengal, Bihar, Nepal, Assam and Orissa between the 10th and 14th centuries. Bühler, one of the greatest authorities on Indian palaeography, and his followers have called it Proto-Bengali. But the name Gauḍī was used by Al-Bīrūnī in the 11th century A. D. to indicate the alphabet of Eastern India, and it is undoubtedly a more suitable name since the use of the alphabet in question was not confined to Bengal.

The letters of this alphabet sometimes exhibit a hook like sign at the top which developed out of the hollow-triangle type of the top *mātrā* referred to above. This is designated by some scholars as 'the Nepalese hook', though it is also found in the other regions of the Gauḍī-using area outside Nepal. In Orissa, the same sign ultimatly developed into the curved top *mātrā* of the letters of the Oriya alphabet.

4. Derivatives of Gauḍī in Nepal and Bihar

The derivative of Gauḍī in Nepal was called the Vartula

(i.e. 'round') alphabet owing to the presence of the hook-like top *mātrā* endowing the letters with a sort of roundish appearance. Another alphabet called Rañjā or Rañjanā, derived from Siddhamātṛkā, was used in Nepal and Tibet for writing Buddhist *Dhāraṇīs,* etc. The Tibetan alphabet is almost identical with the Siddhamātṛkā of the seventh century A. D. as we have already pointed out. We have also stated above that the use of Nāgarī ousted that of the regional alphabets of Nepal in the late Medieval period.

The Maithilī alphabet of North Bihar, developed out of Gauḍī about the 14th century, closely resembles the Bengali-Assamese script. Gauḍī and its Maithilī derivative were used widely in Bihar during the medieval period, not only in the east and north, but also in the Patna District. We have already said that the Maithilī alphabet has been recently ousted by Nāgarī even from the Maithilī-speaking area of North Bihar.

5. Bengali, Assamese and Oriya

About the 14th century A. D. the characteristics separating Bengali-Assamese from Maithilī began to develop. A test letter indicating the distinction between the two alphabets is *śa*. The Bengali-Assamese alphabet of the 15th and 16th centuries may be regarded as Early though the modern type of *śa* is not found in the records of the 15th century. Some of the early forms of the letters, however, continued till the introduction of the printing press which has brought in some modification for the convenience of printing. The difference between the Bengali and Assamese writings is slight and negligible. The representation of *ba* and *va* (the latter distinguished from the former by a diacritical mark) in Assamese is scientific. Apart from the Bengali pronunciation of *va* as *ba*, the sound of the former in words like *lavā*, *khāvā*, etc., is wrongly represented by *ya* in the Bengali alphabet and is written strangely as *laoyā*, *khāoyā*, etc.

The development of the Oriya alphabet out of Gauḍī is complete in the records of about the 14th century A. D. Some Oriya inscriptions of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha IV (1378-1402 A. D.) are written in the Early Oriya alphabet, while some of his other records, couched in the same language, are written in Gauḍī exhibiting some Oriya characteristics. Some earlier records like the Sonepur Oriya inscription of Bhānu I, dated 1268 A. D., likewise exhibit an admixture of Gauḍī and Oriya features. Slight influence of the Oriya script may be occasionally noticed in still earlier epigraphs. From the 15th century, the Early Oriya alphabet is generally found in the royal records of Orissa, especially those written in the Oriya language. Oriya writing in the Sūryavaṁśī-Gajapati records coming from Andhra Pradesh, such as the Śrīśailam inscription and the Veligalani plates, exhibits certain modifications of cursive writing, which make them difficult to read.

6. 'Later Kaliṅga' Alphabet

There is an admixture of some alphabets of the North and the South noticed in certain epigraphic records of the modern Ganjam-Srikakulam region lying in the heart of the ancient Kaliṅga country. The influence of Siddhamātṛkā or Gauḍī and Telugu-Kannaḍa is particularly prominent in these records which belong to the period between the 7th and the 11th century A.D. and are generally copper-plate grants issued by the rulers of the Early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Sometimes the epigraphs are difficult to read because the writing is careless. It has been suggested that the royal scribes of this region were eager to exhibit their knowledge of various alphabets. Since the recently published Guntupalli (West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of the time of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Sada (*circa* 2nd century A. D.) exhibits an admixture of early and late forms of letters, it is not improbable that the so-called Later Kaliṅga alphabet had an earlier beginning.

The earlier records of the Eastern Gaṅgas of the Srikakulam region were written in the Late Brāhmī of South India and in its Telugu-Kannaḍa derivative, while the Imperial Gaṅgas, who rose to power about the close of the tenth century A. D. and ruled over the Ganjam-Srikakulam area, generally used Gauḍī. Some of the official charters of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. D.), whose dominions extended from the Godāvarī to the Bhāgīrathī, are, however, written in Telugu-Kannaḍa.

IV. Development Of The Southern Alphabets

1. Introductory Remarks

The Telugu-Kannaḍa and Tamil-Grantha alphabets developed out of the Late Brāhmī of South India. There was no intermediate stage as in the case of Siddhamātṛkā standing between Late Brāhmī and the modern alphabets in North India.

2. Telugu and Kannada

Between the 6th and 10th centuries, the same alphabet derived from the Late Brāhmī of South India was prevalent in the Telugu- and Kannaḍa-speaking areas. This alphabet was also used in the western parts of the Deccan and in West India whence, as stated above, it was ousted by Siddhamātṛkā about the eighth century A.D. The said alphabet may be styled Early Telugu-Kannaḍa. The middle stage of this script is found in the inscriptions of the period between the 10th and 14th centuries found in the areas where the Telugu and Kannaḍa languages are spoken. We have indicated above how, in this period, Southern Nāgarī began to develop out of Siddhamātṛkā in the western areas of the Deccan and was sometimes also used elsewhere in the South.

The Modern Telugu and Kannaḍa alphabets, which are closely allied almost like Bengali and Assamese, began to develop from about the 14th century. The distinction between the short

and long forms of initial and medial *e* and *o*, however, fully developed and became popular at a later date.

3. Tamil, Grantha and Vaṭṭeḻuttu

Since the Tamil language does not possess all the sounds of the Sanskrit language, two alphabets developed out of Late Brāhmī in the Tamil-speaking area, viz. Tamil for writing the Tamil language, and Grantha (literally 'a book') for writing Sanskrit. They were, therefore, the alphabets of the common man and the learned man respectively. The Early stage of both these alphabets are found in the Pallava inscriptions of the period between the 6th and the 9th century A. D.

Originally, however, the Tamil script was used for writing the Tamil language only in the northern areas of the Tamil-speaking region. In the southern parts of this land, what developed from the Late Brāhmī as the common man's alphabet was the Vaṭṭeḻuttu or 'the round script'. The Tamil alphabet was introduced in this area with the Coḻa conquest of the Pāṇḍya kingdom about the close of the tenth century.

Bühler believed that the Tamil alphabet developed out of a North Indian script of the 4th or 5th century A. D. The theory is, however, based on inadequate evidence available to the scholar and is certainly wrong. His view that Vaṭṭeḻuttu was a cursive form of the Tamil alphabet is also clearly wrong. In reality, both Tamil and Vaṭṭeḻuttu developed out of the Late Brāhmī of South India side by side, the former in the northern part of the Tamil-speaking land and the latter in the southern part of the same area as well as in the tract lying to the west where the Malayāḻam language is spoken.

The Middle stage of Grantha and Tamil is represented by Coḻa inscriptions of the period between the ninth and the fourteenth century. Modern Tamil and Grantha began to develop from about the fourteenth century. The distinction between the short and long forms of initial and medial *e* and *o* is, how-

ever, a very late development. Grantha was used for writing Sanskrit in all parts of the Tamil- and Malayāḷam-speaking areas.

4. Koleḻuttu and Malayāḷam

The use of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet was gradually ousted by that of Tamil from the southern parts of the Tamil-speaking area. But its use continued in the Malayāḷam-speaking region of the west. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters in the said area developed into an extremely cursive script known as Koleḻuttu. About the same time, the Malayāḷam alphabet also developed out of the Grantha. Early epigraphs of this region were all written in the Tamil language and the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script.

The Tulu language spoken in the South Kanara District of Mysore is written in the Malayāḷam alphabet although some scholars have wrongly spoken of 'the Tulu script'.

V. Numbers and Signs

1. Numerical Symbols aud Figures

Numbers were originally expressed by various symbols and not by the numerical figures of the decimal system which developed in India at a later date.

Like the letters of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, its numerals were also modifications of the Aramaic numerical signs. 'One' to 5 were indicated in Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī by as many vertical strokes (placed side by side), often a little slanting. In later epigraphs, 4 is found written by a St. Andrew's cross or sign of multiplication and 5, 6 and 7 by adding respectively one, two and three vertical strokes to its left. 'Eight' was written by two signs of 4. 'Ten' was a Kharoṣṭhī *a* and 20 was made by two signs of 10. Higher numbers were written by adding signs to the left. One hundred, two hundred, etc., were indi-

cated by a hundred symbol with the addition of the signs of 1, 2, etc., at its right.

The numerical symbols in Early Brāhmī appear to have developed out of certain signs of the pre-historic writing of India. Some of these signs have resemblance with certain Brāhmī characters, specially conjuncts, and many scholars believe that they developed out of the letters in question. In reality, however, the numerical signs in Early Brāhmī do not appear to have been derived from such characters.

In the Brāhmī writing, the number from 1 to 9 were expressed with the help of nine different symbols while 10 and its multiples upto 90, and 100 and its multiples upto 900 as well as 1000 and its multiples were similarly expressed by separate symbols. At the Early Brāhmī stage, 1, 2 and 3 were written by as many horizontal strokes placed one above another, which gradually changed into curves. 'Four' looks like a Latin or Greek cross, i.e., *ka* of Early Brāhmī, though soon it also appeared as *pka*. 'Five' looked like *hu* and 6 like *ja* while 7, 8 and 9 looked respectively like the Kharoṣṭhī letters *a*, *ba* and *dha*. 'Ten' looked like the zodiacal sign of taurus or Early Brāhmī *ma* with its top turned towards the right, while 20, 30, 40 and 70 looked like Brāhmī *tha*, *la*, *pna* and *pta*, and the signs of 40 and 70 sometimes looked alike. 'Fifty' looked like C of the Roman script and 60 somewhat like English V or Y. 'Eighty' was a globular sign with a vertical stroke cutting it in the middle, while 90 was the same with the addition of a horizontal stroke likewise cutting it in the middle. 'Hundred' was originally Early Brāhmī *a* and 200 to 900 were indicated by adding 1-2 and 4-9 respectively to the right of the sign for 100. 'Thousand' looked originally like Kharoṣṭhī *tha* to which numerical signs were added, as in the case of the 100 symbol, to indicate higher numbers. In course of time, the signs underwent very considerable change in different parts of India.

The sum 1972 was written in Brāhmī with the symbols for

1000, 900, 70 and 2 placed one after the other consecutively from left to right. In Viṣṇuṣeṇa's charter (about the close of the 6th century), the fractions $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ are written respectively as *vi-10* and *vi-5* probably meaning respectively '10 in relation to 20' (*vi* = *viṁśati*) and '5 in relation to 20'.

The use of the decimal system of writing numbers with the help of figures for the digits 1 to 9 and the cypher is first noticed in a sixth century inscription from Western India. It is the Sankheda-Mankuni (Baroda region, Gujarat) plates of the Kalacuri year 346 (594-95 A.D.). Its influence is noticed in an early Eastern Gaṅga inscription from Tekkali (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh), dated in the Gaṅga year 154 (c. 651 A. D.), of which 100 is written by a symbol, but 54 in the decimal fashion. The use of the cypher is noticed in some tenth century Orissan epigraphs along with numbers written according to the old system by symbols ; e.g., the number 103 is written in one record with the signs of 100, zero and 3, no doubt exhibiting the influence of the decimal system of writing numbers. The earliest use of cypher in Orissa is offered by the Srikakulam plates of the Gaṅga year 183 (c. 680 A. D.), in which 20 has been written with 2 and 0 in accordance with the decimal practice. Similar influence of the decimal system has been recently noticed in the Mankuwar (Allahabad District, U. P.) image inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.). The date of this record, originally read as 100, 20 and 9 (i.e. the Gupta year 129 = 448 A.D.), should really be read as 100, 0 and 9 (i.e., the Gupta year 109 = 428 A. D.). This is the earliest trace of influence of the decimal system of writing numbers in India, although the absence of any reference to it in Āryabhaṭa's work written in 499 A. D. shows that the new system did not enjoy any popularity in East India in the fifth century A. D.

Gradually this system became popular in different parts of the country, even though the system of writing numbers with

symbols continued in some parts of the country till modern times. The Arabs borrowed the system of writing numbers in the decimal system from the Indians in the 8th century. The system is called 'Arabic' in Europe because it was borrowed by Europeans from the Arabs.

2. Signs and Contractions

In carefully engraved inscriptions, the lines are straight. But different words in a line of writing were not usually separated from one another by an intervening empty space. The general practice was to engrave letters of different words in a line one after another in close succession without any demarcation, even though a careless attempt to separate groups of letters by a vertical *daṇḍa* is noticed in some early epigraphs like the Kalsi version of the rock edicts of Aśoka.

Interpunctuation is rarely indicated in early inscriptions. The first and the second halves of stanzas, however, were sometimes separated by means of marks of punctuation as in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (455-67 A. D.). In a few cases, the separation of the versified section from a prose part is indicated by a mark as in line 30 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The mark of punctuation was originally a small stroke, either horizontal or vertical. Such a stroke soon became a curve. Later inscriptions exhibit the use of *daṇḍas* (i.e. bigger vertical strokes), either single or double. This mark is, however, carelessly employed in the Kalsi version of Aśoka's edicts as indicated above, but in a satisfactory fashion in records like the Udayagiri inscription (401 A.D.) of Candragupta II.

Early inscriptions used certain auspicious symbols such as the *svastika*. From about the beginning of the Christian era, epigraphic records often began with the auspicious word *siddham* and later occasionally with the word *svasti* or both *siddham* and *svasti*. The word *siddham* meaning 'let there be

success' (i.e. *siddhir = astu*) soon came to be indicated by a symbol which developed various shapes in different parts of the country. Al-Bīrūnī takes it to be the sign of the *praṇava* apparently because it was often pronounced as *oṁ siddhiḥ*. In East Indian records of the medieval age, the symbol is found in the form of the Bengali sign for 7. The same sign is used even now with the addition of the *candrabindu* or *ānunāsika* above or before it. In the Tamil records, it looks like a coil called 'Gaṇeśa's trunk'. It resembles a number like 50 or 60 in the medieval records of Western India.

Some inscriptions exhibit decoration by sketches of flowers, etc. Omissions in the lines were sometimes written in the margin. Rarely such omissions were indicated in the lines by a *kākapāda* or *haṁsapāda* mark. Passages wrongly incised were often rubbed off and the correct letters re-engraved on the erasure.

Abbreviations like *di* for *divase* (on a day), *su-di* for *śukla-pakṣa-divase* (on a day of the bright fortnight), *ba-di* (*bahula-pakṣa-divase*) or *va-di* (*vadya-pakṣa-divase*), i.e. 'on a day of the dark fortnight'), etc., are often noticed in inscriptions from about the sixth century A. D. Among the numerous contractions, mention may be made of *saṁ* or *saṁvat* for *saṁvatsare*, *Brā* for *Brāhmaṇa*, *Paṁ* for *Paṇḍita*, *dra* for *dramma*, *pu* for *purāṇa*, *sāṁ-hi* for *sāṁvatsarika-hiraṇya*, etc.

When royal charters were incised on several plates, the plates or their faces were in some cases consecutively numbered.

VI. Engraving of Inscriptions

Often illiterate or semi-literate stone-cutters or goldsmiths were entrusted with the task of engraving records on stone or copper plates. This fact accounts for the numerous errors noticed in a large number of epigraphs, especially those engraved on behalf of private individuals. Such badly engraved documents remind us of the fact that, according to the *Mitā-*

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kṣarā commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, a royal deed had to be written in correct and elegant language, although documents of the ordinary people were not required to be composed in correct Sanskrit and could be written even in the local dialects.

We have many instances of badly engraved records even among royal charters, especially those issued by minor ruling families. The Vārāṇasī plate of the Kalacuri king Karṇa (*circa* 1041-71 A. D.) offers an instance of an imperial charter written and engraved by irresponsible and incompetent persons. However, this grant was made when the king was stationed at Prayāga (Allāhābād) in the course of a tour of pilgrimage, and it is possible that the work of engraving the charter was entrusted to a novice who could not read the writing of the draft properly.

Usually, however, powerful kings had in their service trained and competent engravers who performed their work creditably. A high officer or a learned man of the court was generally engaged for the preparation of the draft of a royal record. A competent scribe was then engaged to write the lines on the stone slab or copper plates, fashioned for the purpose, with ink or a pointed instrument. This was meant to facilitate the work of the engraver and also to ensure the correctness of the inscription.

The Deopāḍā stone inscription (about the middle of the twelfth century A. D.) of king Vijayasena of Bengal is known to have been engraved by a renowned artist named Śūlapāṇi who was the president of a guild of the artisans of Varendra (North Bengal) and enjoyed the feudatory title *Rāṇaka*. The neat and beautiful incision of the inscription excites our admiration. The Tālagunda inscription, which is a *praśasti* composed by Kubja, a court poet of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman (middle of the fifth century A. D.) of the Karṇāṭa country, was written on the stone slab by the poet himself so that the

engraver succeeded in performing his work neatly without committing mistakes.

VII. Indian Scripts Abroad

We have seen how Kharoṣṭhī-Prakrit documents have been discovered in Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan and how Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics of the USSR.

The use of Late Brāhmī of North India spread to the Kucha region of Central Asia during the Gupta age. There are fragments of palm-leaf, birch-bark and paper manuscripts from the said area which are assigned to the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A. D. From the seventh to the tenth century A. D., a modified form of the said alphabet, sometimes called 'Slanting Gupta', was used in writing documents in Sanskrit and the local languages of the kingdoms of Kucha and Agni. The development of the Khotanese modification of Late Brāhmī, sometimes called 'Upright Gupta', seems to be later than that of the Kuchean.

The Tibetan alphabet, as indicated above, is practically the same as the North Indian Siddhamātṛkā introduced in that country in the seventh century A.D. In China and Japan, Siddhamātṛkā (called Siddham) is used in writing Buddhist Dhāraṇīs probably even now. The Rañjā (Rañjanā) script used by the Buddhists of Tibet and Nepal is a derivative of the Siddhamātṛkā as we have already said.

The use of Early Brāhmī seems to have been established in Ceylon in the Maurya age, probably during the reign of Aśoka who sent missionaries to the island. The earliest epigraphs of Ceylon are in Early Brāhmī. The modern Ceylonese alphabet developed out of Brāhmī through various phases of evolution.

The use of Brāhmī spread to Indochina and Indonesia with the establishment of India's cultural contact with those

regions. The earliest records of the said territories are written in Late Brāhmī of about the age of the Guptas. The present alphabets of Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Annam, Laos and Cambodia are derivatives of Brāhmī. The people of many of these tracts are Buddhists, and they employ the alphabets in writing the Pali religious texts as well as their local languages. The avoidance of a few *akṣaras* of the Indian alphabet and the introduction of a few letters representing local sounds are interesting features of these alphabets. Most of the early epigraphs of Indochina and Indonesia are written in the Brāhmī of the West and South Indian type, though early Burmese epigraphs often exhibit writing of the East Indian style. The Pali manuscripts of Burma are written in an alphabet different from the Burmese script, the difference between the two reminding us of the difference between the Grantha and Tamil alphabets.

There is a general tendency among scholars to describe the alphabet used in the early inscriptions discovered in the countries of Indonesia and Indochina as 'Pallava-Grantha' and to speak of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan culture in those territories from the Coromandel coast of South India during the rule of the Pallavas. Such a contention is, however, unwarranted.

The alphabet used in the Pallava inscriptions from the fourth to the sixth century A. D. as well as in most of the early epigraphs of the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal is not Pallava-Grantha, but the Late Brāhmī of the southern and western parts of India. The earliest inscriptions of Indonesia and Indochina are generally written in verse like the records of the Early Kadambas of the Kannaḍa-speaking area of the South-Western Deccan and are unlike the epigraphs of the Early Pallavas which are written in prose. The 'box-headed' alphabet used in the inscriptions of king Bhadravarman of Campā in South Annam, who flourished in the sixth century

A.D., was used by the Kadambas of the west coast. The Śaka era, the use of which was introduced in Indonesia and Indochina about the close of the sixth century A. D., was never used by the Pallavas, but was popularised in the western areas of the Deccan by the Cālukyas of Bādāmi who rose to power in the sixth century. The use of the decimal system in writing numbers seems also to have spread to the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal about the sixth century A. D. from Western India. A few inscriptions of those countries are written in the Late Brāhmī and Siddhamātṛkā alphabets of the North as used in Eastern India.

The gradual modification of the Late Brāhmī alphabet introduced in regions beyond the Bay of Bengal gave rise to the local alphabets in the early medieval period, and at the same time, the regional languages also began to appear in the inscriptions as we have already mentioned.

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NOTES

CERA KINGS OF THE PUGALŪR INSCRIPTIONS

K. G. KRISHNAN

Two inscriptions[1] from Pugaḷūr in the Tiruchchirappalli District, Tamil Nadu, were discovered and copied by the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. They are in Tamil language and in Brāhmī characters of about the second century A. D. They have formed the subject-matter of a paper by Sri I. Mahadevan and another by Sri Pannirselvam, both presented in the first International Conference on Tamil Studies in 1966.[2] Sri Mahadevan has stated that the two inscriptions, assignable according to him to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., record the names of Cera kings of three generations, namely, (1) Ko Ātaṉ Ceral Irumpoṟai, (2) Peruṅkaḍuṅgo and (3) Ilaṅkaḍuṅgo and that the last-mentioned excavated the respective caverns. He has further proposed to identify the three kings respectively with (1) Anduvaṉ Ceral-Irumpoṟai, (2) Celvak-Kaḍuṅgovāḷiyātaṉ and (3) Peruñ-ceral-Irumpoṟai, the latter two being the heroes praised in the seventh and eighth decades of the Tamil Classic called *Padiṟṟuppattu*. Sri Pannirselvam has identified the three kings correspondingly with (1) Celvak-Kaḍuṅgovāḷiyātaṉ, (2) Peruñ-ceral-Irumpoṟai and (3) Ilañ-ceral-Irumpoṟai, the last of whom is the hero praised in the ninth decade of the above-mentioned Classic.

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1 *A. R. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. 349; 1963-64, No. B 297; Iravatham Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 56 and 57.

2 *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 421-25.

Before going into the merits of these two sets of identification, we shall subject the texts of the inscriptions to a critical examination. They are read by Sri Mahadevan as follows :

No. 349 of 1927-28

1 ......ta amannan Yāṟṟūr Ceṅkāyapan urai-y
2 Ko Ātaṉ Cellirumporai makaṉ
3 Peruṅkaduṅkoṉ makaṉ [I]laṅ
4 Kaduṉko [i]laṅko āka arutta kal

No. 297 of 1927-28

1 ...ta mana...Yāṟṟū...Ceṅkā...
2 Ko Ā ... llirumpurai makaṉ Peruṉ-
3 Kaduṅkon makaṉ Kaduṅkon [i]lan-kaduṅ
4 ko [i] laṅko āka arupita kal

It may be noted that the two inscriptions contain identical names of three kings : (1) Ko Ātaṉ Cel (i.e. Ceral) Irumporai, (2) his son Peruṅ-Kaduṅgoṉ, and (3) his son Ilaṅ-Kaduṅgoṉ. The second inscription describes the third as Kaduṅgoṉ Ilaṅkaduṅgo. Kaduṅgoṉ, the first part of this name is obviously the patronymic. This has apparently led Mahadevan to identify the second king Peruṅkaduṅgo with Celvak-Kaduṅgo-vāḻiyātan, This has resulted in his equating these three kings with the three kings of the Tamil Classic as mentioned above. Pannirselvam has based his identifications on the equation of the adjectival terms *perum* and *iḻam* in both the sets of names. We are afraid that both of them have wrongly understood the way in which these names are used in both inscriptions and the Tamil Classic.

It is well-known to the students of Tamil literature, especially the *Padiaṟṟuppattu*, that among the two sets of kings mentioned in that Classic, the second set represented by the seventh, eighth and ninth decades contains the names of three successive kings, unlike the first set which, therefore, is excluded from consideration for our purpose.

As regards the inscriptions, we find that the first king is described as Ko Ātaṉ Ceral Irumpoṟai which consists of the personal name Ātaṉ, the dynastic name Ceral and the family name Irumpoṟai. The second name Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgoṉ contains the epithet *perum* and the personal name Kaḍuṅgoṉ.[3] The third similarly consists of the epithet *ilam* and personal name Kaḍuṅgoṉ. It should be borne in mind that the epithets form an integral part of the personal names in as much as it is the only distinguishing factor between the two. Thus we get personal names of three successive kings of the Irumpoṟai family :

Ātaṉ
|
Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgoṉ
|
Ilam-Kaḍuṅgoṉ

We now turn to the literature. Among the numerous names of Cera kings of the Irumpoṟai family available in the Early Tamil Classics, only those that are mentioned in the seventh, eighth and ninth decades of the *Padiṟṟuppattu* belong to three kings who ruled successively. The colophons of these decades give the names of the kings along with their parentage. The seventh decade composed by the poet Kapilar is in praise of Celvak-Kaḍuṅgo-vaḻiy-Ātaṉ born of Poṟaiyaṉ-perundevi, the daughter of Orutantai, to Anduvaṉ. In this long compound name, Celvak-Kaḍuṅgo appears to be an epithet[4] and Ātaṉ is evidently the personal name of this king. The eighth decade is in praise of Peruñceral-Irumpoṟai composed by the poet Aricil-

3 This is confirmed by the patronymic Kaḍuṅgoṉ attached to the name of the third king in the second inscription.

4 *Padiṟṟuppattu*, 7th decade, verse 63, line 15, and 67, lines 22–23, where it is given as Celvak-ko and Celvak-komān respectively. Very possibly Māndaraṉ Poṟaiyaṉ Kaḍuṅgo mentioned in a verse (*Ahanānūṟu*, No. 142) composed by Paraṇar is identical with this chief.

kiḻār. This king was born of the daughter of Veḷ Āvikkomān Padumaṉ to Celvak-Kaḍuṅgo. As already stated, this does not give the personal name of this king. The ninth decade composed by Peruṅkuṉṟūr-kiḻār is in praise of Iḷañceral-Irumporai born of Cellai, the daughter of Anduvaṉ, a Vel chief of Maiyur, to Kuṭṭuvaṉ Irumporai.[5] Here also the personal name of Ilañceral-Irumporai is not given. On the other hand, his father's name is stated to be Kuṭṭuvaṉ. Since all the scholars have considered Peruñceral-Irumpoṟai and Ilañceral-Irumpoṟai as father and son,[6] it is to be surmised that Peruñceral-Irumpoṟai had the name Kuṭṭuvaṉ which should be taken as his personal name. Thus we get the following genealogy from these three decades :

Ātaṉ (Celvak-Kaḍuṅgo)
|
Kuṭṭuvaṉ (Peruñceral-Irumpoṟai)
|
Ilañceral-Irumpoṟai (name not available)

While Mahadevan was tempted to identify Celvak-Kaḍuṅgoṉ with Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgoṉ of the inscription, Pannirselvam was, in his turn, tempted to identify Celvak-Kaḍuṅgo-vāḻiy-Ātaṉ with Ātaṉ Ceral-Irumpoṟai of the inscription.[7] But our analysis of the names of the three kings in the two sets of genealogies, presented above, points to the improbability of the identifications proposed by the two scholars.

If we turn our attention to the Sangam Classics again, we come across the names of two persons in the colophons of

5 See also *ibid.*, 9th decade, verse 90, line 26.

6 The possibility of their being brothers is precluded since the former is stated to be the son of Celvak-Kaḍuṅgo.

7 Pannirselvam's identification will present us with a position where all the three kings would have borne the name or title Kaḍuṅgo. This by itself lessens the force of his argument.

many verses,[8] which may be equated with the same names in our inscriptions. They are Pālai pāḍiya Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgo, i.e., Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgo who composed poems on the subject of *pālai*,[9] and Marudam pāḍiya Ilaṅ-Kaḍuṅgo, i.e., Ilaṅ-Kaḍuṅgo who composed poems on the subject of *marudam*.[10] The personal names Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgo and Ilaṅ-Kaḍuṅgo agree very well with the latter two names in the inscriptions. The epithets *pālai pāḍiya* and *marudam pāḍiya* need not have been bestowed on them in their own lifetime. The colophon of a verse in the *Puṛanāṉūru*[11] states that the verse was composed by Peymagal Ilaveyiṉi in praise of *Ceramāṉ* Pālai Pāḍiya Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgo. We do not have any evidence, however, in respect of Marudam pāḍiya Ilaṅ-Kaḍuṅgo to show that he was a Cera king. This negative evidence cannot be pressed too far against our identification. The old commentator of the *Puṛanāṉūru* verse referred to above interprets the name Vañci on the banks of the Taṉporunai occurring in the verse as Karuvūr. This leads us to surmise that Peruṅ-Kaḍuṅgo of the literature belonged to the family of Poṛaiyars.[12] This strengthens our identification. Ātaṉ Ceral Irumpoṛai, the first of the three kings in the inscriptions, cannot, however, be identified correctly in the present state of our knowledge. Thus we find that these two inscriptions mention three kings not known to the *Padiṟṟuppattu.*

The occurrence of the name Kaḍuṅgoṉ in these inscriptions is interesting also in another respect. The earliest use of this name so far known is in the case of Kaḍuṅgoṉ, the earliest Pāṇḍya king known from the Velvikudi plates, who might have ruled sometime in the beginning of the sixth cen-

8 *Puṛanāṉūru*, No. 282; *Ahanāṉūru*, Nos. 5, 96, 99; etc.

9 The main theme under this subject is separation between lovers.

10 The main theme under this subject is temporary misunderstanding between lovers.

11 No. 11.

12 The significance of this is explained below.

tury. This is apparently translated into Sanskrit as Ugra which is met with also in the late Tamil Classics.

We have assigned the inscription to the second century A. D., on the basis of palaeography. Since the kings of our inscriptions could not be identified with anyone of the kings mentioned in the *Padiṟṟuppattu* including Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ, they have to be placed in the latter half or towards the close of the second century. It is well-known that Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ has been fixed in about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. on the basis of the Gajabāhu synchronism.

The provenance of the inscriptions, i.e., Pugaḻūr very near Karūr in the Koṅgu country throws some welcome light on the question of the identification of Karuvūr mentioned in the Sangam Classics. A short inscription[13] in Tamil language and Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd century A.D., from Pugaḻūr refers to a gold merchant of Karu-ur (Karuvūr). Thus the antiquity of the place is sufficiently established.[14] The expression 'Karuvūr Vañci' met with in later inscriptions and literature[15] appears to have come up due to the association of the Ceras after their conquest of this area. The earliest reference to the conquest of Koṅgu by the Ceras occurs in a verse in *Padiṟṟuppattu* attributed to Palyānaic-celkeḻu-Kuṭṭuvaṉ, one of the early kings among the Ceras. As a consequence of this expansion towards the east, the Ceras might have felt the need to initiate a viceroyalty for which Karuvūr was made the seat of authority. In memory of Vañci, the greater metropolis on the west coast in their original habitat, they evidently named this place also as Vañci. In this context, the epithet

13 *A. R. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. 343 ; Iravatham Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, No. 66.

14 *Contra* K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, pp. 231-34. He considers Karur in the Tiruchchirappalli District to be a town of much later growth.

15 *A. R. Ep.*, 1936-37, Nos. 166 and 167.

Karuvūr-eṛiya oḷvāṭ-ko of Peruñceral-Irumporai who was probably the first among the family of Poraiyar gains a new significance.[16] The Cera origin of the Adigaimān chiefs in the northern parts in and around Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri)[17] also seems to point to the creation of another principality as a result of this expansion. The nearly contemporaneous reference[18] to Karuvūr of Kodai (i.e., the Cera) in a Tamil Classic along with Uṛandai of the Coḷas and Kūḍal of Vaḷudi also strengthens our contention that Karuvūr Vañci was the secondary capital of the Ceras during the early centuries of the Christian era.[19] The kings mentioned in our inscriptions were obviously the last few rulers of Karuvūr known to us from epigraphy and also partly from literature.

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16 K. G. Sesha Aiyar, *Cera Kings of the Sangam Period*, pp. 82–83. But for the location of Karuvūr proposed by him, we agree with his view cited here.

17 *Puṛanāṉūru* 99. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 98.

18 *Ahanāṉūru*, verse 93.

19 Instead of entering into the entire controversy regarding this vexed question of Vañci that once raged in the Tamil scholarly world, I have confined myself to the most important facts in favour of the view expressed here, reserving a full discussion elsewhere.

THE LICCHAVIS AND MAGADHA

BUDDHA PRAKASH

Magadha launched on an imperial career when king Bimbisāra annexed Aṅga with its wealthy river port of Campā. His son and successor Ajātaśatru took the next step of conquering the territory to the north of the Ganges, occupied by the Licchavis, and thereby converting the great river into a Magadhan channel. The exact cause of the rupture between Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis is shrouded in legends and fables. Jain traditions aver that the desire to take the prized elephant and necklace from his brothers Halla and Vehalla, who had sought shelter with the Licchavi chief Ceṭaka, led Ajātaśatru to advance against him ;[1] but the Pāli commentator Buddhaghoṣa states that the dispute about a unique scented substance, produced in a river port on the Ganges, that lay half in Magadhan territory and half in that of the Licchavis, led to the outbreak of hostilities.[2] As A. L. Basham has observed, the later tradition correctly hints at the Magadhan 'objective of gaining control of as much of the Ganges river system as possible'[3] with a view to monopolising the enormous trade and traffic that passed through it.

However, the Licchavis were a hard nut to crack. So strong was their organisation and so large their system of

1 *Nirayāvalikā Sūtra*, ed. A. S. Gopani and V. J. Chokhsi (Ahmedabad, 1935), pp. 19 ff. ; *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Bombay, 1918–21), *Sūtras* 299 ff.; *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* with *Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa-gaṇin (Ratlam, 1928–29), Vol. II, pp. 172 ff.

2 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (PTS), Vol. II, p. 516.

3 'Ajātasattu's War with the Licchavis', *Proc. IHC*, 14th Session, 1951, Jaipur, p. 40.

alliances, that even the Bismarckian Magadhan monarch had to think twice before falling out with them. As tradition has it, he deputed his trusted minister Varṣakāra to consult the Buddha about the possibilities of reducing the Licchavis and then carefully fortified the defence of Pāṭaligrāma at the confluence of the Ganges and the Śoṇa to guard his rear.[4] Before launching the attack, he sent the said Varṣakāra to sow dissension among the Licchavis and destroy their solidarity, in which mission the minister greatly succeeded, according to Buddhaghoṣa.[5] These preparations synchronized with the extermination of the Śākyas by the Kosalan king Viḍūḍabha on the pretext that they insulted his family by marrying to his father Prasenajit the slave-girl Vāsabhakhattiyā who became his mother. The disaster of the Śākyas ignited the conflagration of revolt and uprising, which probably cost the Kosalan king his life. The upheaval of oligarchical or republican tribes, living in the kingdom of Kosala and Kāśī, at the time of the death of Viḍūḍabha, turned into a vast movement to withstand the advance of monarchist powers and foil their designs to endanger their independence. The confederacy of the nine Licchavis, nine Mallakis and the eighteen tribal chieftains of Kāśī and Kosala, mentioned in Jain texts, refers to the upsurge of republican sentiment against monarchist expansion, signalized first by the attack of Viḍūḍabha on the Śākyas and then by the machinations of Ajātaśatru against the Licchavis.

The war with the Licchavis, in whatever manner it may have started, was fairly difficult. If Jain sources, cited above,

4 *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, *Dīghanikāya* (Nālandā Devanāgarī-Pāli-Granthamālā), Vol. II, p. 58 : *ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate / tena kho pana samayena rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehī-putto Vajjim=abhiyātukāmo ahosi / Ibid.*, p. 70 : *tena kho pana samayena Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaram=āpenti Vajjīnaṁ paṭibāhāya.*

5 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Vol. II, p. 522.

are to be believed, it consisted of two protracted battles. The first lasted for ten days, during which one Magadhan general was daily killed, till on the eleventh day the Magadhans brought to the battlefield a new weapon, like a catapult, called *mahāśilākanṭaka*, which turned the verdict in their favour. The second also had a similar course and the Magadhans introduced another new engine like a battering ram, known as *rathamusala*, which tilted the scales in their favour. At any rate, the struggle lasted for twelve years in which superior strategy, advanced technology, unified command and Machiavellian tactics triumphed over conservative ideas, traditional outlook, loose organisation and instable alliance liable to break down at minor provocations. Intrigue and assault, dissension and looseness rent the oligarchy asunder and broke the ranks of the nine archons of the Licchavis and Mallakis respectively and the eighteen tribal heads of Kāśī and Kosala. As a result, they fell, and their territory formed part of the Magadhan empire. Ajātaśatru became the undisputed ruler of a considerable part of Bihar and Oudh.

Ajātaśatru was assassinated by his son Udayabhadra or Udayin who, after a reign of sixteen years, met with a similar fate at the hands of his son Anuruddha. The latter's career was cut short by his son Muṇḍa who, in his turn, fell a victim to his son Nāgadāsaka. This is exhibition of naked power politics, unabashed lust and intrigue and unbridled clash and scramble at the imperial capital of Magadha. The reigns of Anuruddha and Muṇḍa overlapped and remained in dispute from the outset with the result that the Pāli chronicler, instead of specifying them distinctly, as in the case of other kings of this dynasty, bracketed them together as of eight years' duration. So much appears to have been the confusion and uncertainty that Jain and Purāṇic writers omitted all references to these kings, being unable to see through the flickering kaleidoscope of events. At last the brewing chaos burst into

a severe revolution which swept off this dynasty and brought to the fore a new political element.

The chronicler of the *Mahāvaṁsa* recorded these events as follows : "When Ajātasattu's son Udayabhaddaka had slain him, he, the traitor, reigned sixteen years. Udayabhaddaka's son Anuruddhaka slew [his father], and Anuruddha's son, named Muṇḍa, did likewise. Traitors and fools, these [sons] reigned over the kingdom ; in the reign of these two [kings] eight years elapsed. Muṇḍa's son Nāgadāsaka slew his father and then did the evil-doer reign twenty-four years. Then were the citizens wroth, saying : 'This is a dynasty of parricides,' and, when they had banished king Nāgadāsaka, they met together, and, [since] the minister known by the name Susunāga was proved to be worthy, they anointed him king, mindful of the good of all. He reigned as king eighteen years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years."[6]

The question arises who this Susunāga was, whom the people raised to the throne after overthrowing the Bimbisārids. The *ṭīkā* of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, called *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, des-

6. *Mahāvaṁsa*, IV. 1-8 ; trans. Wilhelm Geiger (PTS, London, 1912), p. 19 ; ed. Geiger, p. 21 :

Ajātasattu-putto taṁ ghātetv=Odayabhaddako /
rajjaṁ soḷasa-vassāni kāresi mitta-dubbhiko //
Udyabhadda-putto taṁ ghātetvā Anuruddhako /
Anuruddhassa putto taṁ ghātetvā Muṇḍa-nāmako /.
Mittadduno dumbhatino te pi rajjaṁ akārayum /
Tesaṁ ubhinnaṁ rajjesu aṭṭha-vassān=atikkamuṁ //
Muṇḍassa putto pitaraṁ ghātetvā Nāgadāsako /
catuvisati-vasssāni rajjaṁ kāresi pāpako //
Pitu-ghātaka-vaṁso=yaṁ iti kuddh=ātha nāgarā /
Nāgadāsaka-rājānaṁ apanetvā samāgatā //
Susunāgo ti paññātaṁ amaccaṁ sādhu-sammataṁ /
rajje samabhisiñcinsu sabbesaṁ hita-mānasā //
so aṭṭhārasa-vassāni rājā rajjaṁ akāraye /
Kālāsoko tassa putto aṭṭhavisati kārayi //

cribes Susunāga as the son of a Licchavi chief.[7] The Burmese tradition further adds that he transferred his capital to Vaiśālī, the celebrated seat of the Licchavis.[8] Tāranātha also observes

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7 *Vaṁsatthappakasinī*, ed. Baṭuwanṭuḍawe and M.M. Nāṇissara Bhikkhu, in Singhalese (Colombo, 1895), pp. 100-01. The story given in this text shows that Susunāga was the son of a Licchavi prince of Vaiśālī (*Vesālayaṁhi aññatarassa Licchavi-rañño putto*). He was born of a certain harlot and reared up by the son of another minister (*tassāyaṁ ekāya nagarasobhiniyā kucchismiṁ gahita-paṭisaṁdhiko aññatarena pana amacca-puttena posito*). The story goes that once upon a time the Licchavi princes assembled together and thought: "Our town does not look nice when the harlot is removed elsewhere." Thinking thus, they appointed another woman of the same caste in her place. One of the princes took her to his own home and retained her for a week. When she conceived, he expelled her. Cf. *eaksmiṁ samaye kira Licchavi-rājāno sannipatitā, "n=āmhākaṁ nagaraṁ ṭhānantara-ppattāya nagarasobhiniyā virahitaṁ sobhatī" ti evaṁ maññitvā aññataraṁ samāna-jātikaṁ mātugāmaṁ tasmiṁ ṭhapesuṁ / tesam=aññataro rājā gahetvā attano gehaṁ netvā sattāhaṁ attano gehe yeva vasāpetvā tasmiṁ gahita-gabbhe visajjesi.*

She went to her home and after the completion of the period of pregnancy, gave birth to a lump of flesh (*sā attano gehaṁ gantvā parinata-gabbhā vijāyanti maṁsa-pesiṁ vijāyitvā*) and got it thrown in a dustbin (*saṅkāra-ṭṭhāne ṭhapāpesi*). There a serpent protected it with his hood, and when people assembled there, made a hissing sound like *sū sū* and then vanished. Cf. *eko nāga-rājā disvā attano bhogehi parikkhipitvā upari mahantaṁ phaṇaṁ katvā dissamāno rūpeneva ṭhatvā attānaṁ disvā sannipatito mahājane sūsū ti saddaṁ katvā antaradhāyi.*

On the departure of the snake, the people found there a well-developed baby full of auspicious marks (*sampanna-lakkhaṇaṁ dhaññavatī-putta-paṭilābhaṁ adassa*). Among them, a minister's son, filled with affection for him, took him to his home and nurtured him, and gave him the name of Susunāga, since he was protected by a snake who made the sound of *sū sū*. Cf. *tath=eko amacca-putto tasmiṁ saṁjāta-pemo taṁ gharaṁ netvā paṭijagganto nāma-gahana-divase ahinā sū sū ti kaṭa-saddhikena nāgaraññā rākkhitattā Susunāgo it nāmam=akāsi.*

This story of the birth of Susunāga is also given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna called 'the Cambodian *Mahāvaṁsa*'. See G. P. Malalasekera, *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* (Aluvihāra Series, Vol. III), Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, IV, 8–25, pp. 50–51.

8 P. Bigandet, *Vie ou Legende de Gautama*, Paris, 1878, p. 346.

that the king, under whom the second Buddhist council was held in the year 100 or 110 after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, was one Nandin, belonging to the family of the Licchavis.[9] We learn from the *Mahāvaṁsa* that this council was held during the reign of Kālāśoka,[10] son of Susunāga, who seems to be the same as Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, mentioned in the Purāṇas, but whom the Purāṇas wrongly placed long before Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. It is likely that these princes are identical with Nandivardhana and Mahānandin of the Purāṇas, though the reign-periods assigned to them by the Purāṇic chroniclers no not agree with those given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The fact that Tāranātha says that the king under whom the second Buddhist council was held was called Nandin lends support to this view.

The coming of the Licchavi princes to the throne of Magadha after the overthrow of the Bimbisārids raises an interesting problem. We have seen that the Licchavis were defeated and their kingdom annexed by Ajātaśatru. This snubbed the Licchavis for the time being, but did not permanently crush them. Being a part of the population of the empire of Magadha, they had the opportunity of playing their role in its politics. It is likely that, by virtue of their hereditary qualities of leadership, they soon rose to eminence and occupied important posts in the government at Magadha. One such person was Śiśunāga (Śiśunāka), whom the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* expressly calls a Licchavi prince, as seen above. This prince was popular among the people of Magadha by reason of his ability and merit and was also active in fomenting unrest and discon-

9 Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, trans. A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg, 1869), p. 41.

10 *Mahāvaṁsa*, IV. 8; trans. Geiger, p. 19; ed. Geiger, p. 21:
atīte dasame vasse Kālāsokassa rājino /
Sambuddha-parinibbāṇā evaṁ vassa-sataṁ ahu //

tent which eventually assumed the form of a widespread upsurge of the urban people sweeping away the descendants of Bimbisāra from the throne and installing him as the king in their place. His son and successor Kākavarṇa (Kālāśoka), who is most probably Nandin of Tāranātha and Mahānandin of the Purāṇas, further strengthened and consolidated the kingdom and the latter's son and successor Mahāpadma, probably by a courtezan or a woman of low caste, after elbowing his way to the throne, launched on an imperialist career of conquest and ranked as 'the destroyer of all the Kṣatriyas and the paramount sovereign, whose writ ran unchallenged throughout the earth'.[11] Mahāpadma and his eight sons, collectively known as the Nine Nandas, brought under their sway the entire country to the east of the Punjab. All these kings, Nandins and Nandas, were thus Licchavis by descent. After the overthrow of the last Nanda king by Candragupta, the republican clans, which the monarchs of the house of Bimbisāra defeated and brought under subjection, had their full revenge on them by becoming the rulers of Magadha. But in this process, they jettisoned their oligarchical and republican traditions and became monarchists and autocrats to the core. However, it was their inherent spirit of organisation and consolidation which gave India her first historical unified empire. The unique phenomenon of the subjugation of the Licchavis by the monarchs of Magadha and their subsequent resurrection as the rulers of that state is an illuminating instance of how sometimes the conquered people conquer their own conquerors, and is, in a way, analogous to what a Latin poet mentioned in the verse *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

11 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 24 : *Mahāpadmo Paraśurāma iv=āparo akhila-Kṣatr-ānta-kārī bhavitā / sa c=aika-cchatrām=anullaṅghita-śāsano Mahāpadmaḥ pṛthivīṁ bhokṣyati //*

Editorial Note

The conflicting evidence about the genealogy and chronology of the dynasties of Bimbisāra and Śiśunāga as found in the Buddhist works and the Purāṇas is well known. Prof. Buddha Prakash identifies Kālāśoka (Kākavarṇa), son of Śiśunāga, with Nandin mentioned by Tāranātha and with Mahānandin of the Purāṇas (both of whom are represented as the father of Mahāpadma Nanda), and suggests that, as a grandson of Śiśunāga who is said to be of the Licchavi lineage, Mahāpadma was also a Licchavi. There are some weak points in this theory. Firstly, the seventeenth century author Tāranātha wrote more than two millennia after the First Buddhist council, so that his statement regarding Nandin, not only uncorróborated by any other source, but going against earlier traditions, may not appear acceptable to all. Secondly, Prof. Buddha Prakash accepts the identity of Kālāśoka of the Buddhists and Kākavarṇa of the Purāṇas suggested on the basis of the fact that both are represented as the son of Śiśunāga. But the Purāṇas mention Mahāpadma Nanda as the son begotten on a Śūdra woman by Mahānandin who ruled for 43 years considerably after Śiśunāga's son Kākavarṇa who ruled for 36 years. The identification of Kākavarṇa and Mahānandin is thus unsupported by the Purāṇic tradition. Thirdly, what the Classical accounts, based on contemporary evidence, say about the last Nanda king represented as a son of the first Nanda (Mahāpadma), goes against the theory of Prof. Buddha Prakash. According to the Classical accounts, the father of the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander (336-323 B. C.) was 'a barber scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings ; but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the Queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch." "Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign

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and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death, begot the present king."* This account accords well with the *Harṣacarita* story about Kākavarṇa's tragic end, the Ceylonese chronicles speaking vaguely of the ten sons of Kālāśoka, and the Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* tradition representing the Nanda king as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Purāṇic tradition regarding Mahāpadma Nanda being the son of a king of Magadha goes against the probably contemporary Classical evidence about his humble origin and has obviously to be rejected as unreliable.—D. C. SIRCAR.

* Cf. the accounts of Diodorus Siculus (1st century B. C.) and Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st century A.D.) in R.C. Majumdar's *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 129, 172.

THE STATE OF NATURE IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

S. N. MISRA

There is no specific reference to the State of Nature in Vedic literature.[1] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[2] the sage Agastya said to Rāma, "... at the beginning of the Golden Age *(Kṛtayuga)*, the human race had no king...to obtain a king, therefore, men approached Brahman and said ... 'Do thou confer a sovereign upon us ... we cannot live without a king ; this is our firm conviction'."

The *Mahābhārata*[3] furnishes us with a vivid picture of the various phases and aspects of the State of Nature : "At first there was no State (*rājya*), no king (*rājan*), no chastisement (*daṇḍa*) and no chastiser (*dāṇḍika*). All men protected one another righteously. As they thus lived righteously, protecting one another, they found the task [after sometime] to be painful. Error then began to assail their hearts. Having become subject to error, the perceptions of men came to be clouded, and thence their vision began to decline. When their perceptions were dimmed and men became subject to error, all of them became convetous and, because men sought to obtain objects which they did not possess, another passion called lust [for acquisition] got hold of them. When they became subject to lust, another passion named wrath soon soiled them. Once

1 Referring to the election of Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, etc., U. N. Ghoshal says that this introduces us to a State of Nature without a king, which exposed the gods to external insecurity and furnished the occasion for the election of a king among them. See *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, p. 29.

2 II. 7, 10–33.

3 XII. 59. 14ff.

subject to wrath, they lost all considerations of what should be done and what should not. Unrestrained sexual indulgence set in. Men began to utter what they chose. All distinction between clean and unclean food and between virtue and vice disappeared. When this confusion set in among men, the Vedas disappeared. Upon the disappearance of the Vedas, righteousness was lost. When both the Vedas and righteousness were lost, the gods were possessed of fear. Overcome by fear, they sought the protection of Brahman."

The lord Brahman composed a very comprehensive treatise on *Daṇḍa-nīti* dealing with virtue, profit, pleasure and emancipation (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*) for the guidance of all. Brahman said to the gods, "Assisted by chastisement, this science will protect the world. Dealing with rewards and punishments, this science will operate among men. And because men are led by chastisement or, in other words, chastisement leads or governs everything, therefore will this science be known in the three worlds as *Daṇḍa-nīti*."[4] This treatise was abridged by various gods. On being requested by the gods, Viṣṇu created Virajas. His great-grandson Anaṅga 'became a protector of creatures pious in behaviour and fully conversant with the science of chastisement'. Anaṅga's great-grandson Pṛthu Vainya was the first consecrated king.

The *Mahābhārata* also refers to another tradition.[5] Here again the story of the initial Golden Age and subsequent degeneration is narrated. "Feeling the need of peace, people entered into a compact among themselves that the braggart, the cruel man and the violator of women's chastity and mutual agreements should be banished from land so as to create ease and confidence among all the communities. But the people still continued to be unhappy [because there was no one to enforce the agreement]. Then people approached Brahman;

4 *Mbh.*, XII. 59. 76–78.

5 *Ibid.*, 67. 18–23.

the latter nominated Manu as the first king." The same text states that, in a kingless State, 'the wealth of one is snatched away by two and that of those two by many acting together. He who is not a slave is made a slave. Women again are forcibly abducted. For these reasons, the gods created kings for protecting the people'.[6] "One should first select a king ... then should he select a wife and then earn wealth. If there be no king, what would become of his wife and wealth ?"[7]

In the *Agaññasuttanta*[8] of the *Dīghanikāya*, the State of Nature is referred to : "In the first cycle, there was a Golden Age when men, who had ethereal and refulgent bodies, lived in virtue and happiness. After the lapse of sometime, there was fall from this ideal state. Firstly, the sex distinctions arose and then other evils." "As human nature became wicked, punishment became essential. Now these beings gathered themselves together and bewailed these things saying : 'From our evil deeds, sins becoming manifest in as much as stealing, censure and lying, punishment became known ... To set things right, the first king was selected."

With the degeneration of human nature, houses were built and fields were divided distinguishing them as "This is mine, this is mine."[9] When the people began to snatch away the crops of others, there arose the necessity of some authority which would protect their respective fields. This led to the creation of the office of the *Mahākhattiya* or the Great Protector of Fields.[10]

According to the Jain tradition,[11] in the first cycle, people of this planet followed the path of virtue automatically and

6 *Loc. cit.*, 67. 18–23.

7 *Loc. cit.*, 57.46.

8 *Dīghanikāya.*, Pt. III, pp. 92–93.

9 Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 5–6 (*SBB*, IV. 87).

10 *Loc. cit.* [*Khattiya* is really not 'protector of fields'.—Ed.]

11 Daulat Ram, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa Bhāṣā*, pp. 40-47.

instinctively, and their life was happy and contented due to the resplendent Kalpa-vṛkṣas. Then decadence set in ; consequently, the first patriarch (*Kulakara*) Pratiśruti was chosen. Upto the time of Ṛṣabha, the son of Nābhi the 14th *Kulakara*, there was neither a kingdom nor a king, neither punishment nor punisher. When people swerved from the path of virtue and righteousness laid down by the *Kulakaras*, people approached Nābhi, and the latter nominated Ṛṣabha who was unanimously elected by the people as the first king.

The *Arthaśāstra*[12] says, "People suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendencies of a large fish devouring a small one (*mātsya-nyāya*) first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king." The *Manusmṛti*[13] says, "When the people were running in different directions out of fear in the anarchical state, the lord Brahman created the king from the eternal particles of Indra, Anila, Yama, Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Candra and Kubera for the protection of all.

The above traditions have some common features. They begin with the conception of a primaeval Golden Age when righteousness reigned supreme, the State of Nature thus being initially blissful. In almost all the traditions, this primaeval Golden Age is succeeded by degeneration of human nature, arising from evils and anarchy. Thus all the ancient thinkers are unanimous about the ultimate chaos inherent in the State of Nature, although, as Altekar[14] puts it, some of them toyed with the idea of primeval Golden Age for a while. In some cases, e.g., in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[15] and the *Mahābhārata*,[16] the gods intervene, and Brahman creates the first king or at first Brahman composes a treatise on *Daṇḍa-nīti* and then Viṣṇu

12 I. 13, 22-23.

13 VII. 3-4 ; also Nārada, I. 1-2 ; Bṛhaspati, I. 1.16.

14 *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 30.

15 II. 7. 10-33.

16 XII. 59, 14ff.

creates a king.[17] In the Buddhist and Jain traditions, it is the people who ponder and elect the first king who sets things right.

The above speculations of the political thinkers of ancient India belong to a period of history when the caste system and traditional conception of good and bad and of virtue and evil were fully evolved, and the territorial state and hereditary kingship were in existence for centuries. The actual State of Nature falls within the range of pre-history while these speculations belong to the historical period. The gulf is immeasurable. Therefore, these speculations do not comprehend and conceive the actual State of Nature, i.e. the absence of the State.

The conception of the primaeval Age springs from the human fallacy of regarding the past as better and unsoiled. The dread of anarchy and its tale of woe seem to have originated in the experiences of the authors regarding a kingless State, i.e. when the king was dead and the new king was still to assume the reigns of government. Ignorance and credulence led the Brāhmaṇical thinkers to believe in the intervention of gods. The *Mahābhārata* traditions make out that prior to the evolution of kingship and State, the Vedas, the conception of righteousness, the code of conduct and sex morality, the laws regarding clean and unclean food and even the *Daṇḍanīti* were already in existence. This is simply absurd and is tantamount to the proverbial placing of the cart before the horse. It is equally bad logic when we come to the Buddhist and the Jain traditions. They lay down that when the Golden Age had withered out and wickedness set in, the people [who are wicked and vile] assemble and elect a king. This theory is fantastic indeed. The Kalpa-vṛkṣas of the Jain tradition may be taken as a reminiscence of the state of food-gathering, and the reference to cultivation and subsequent land disputes in the Buddhist tradition

17 *Ibid.*, 67. 18-23.

may be interpreted to mean that the State of Nature ended with the development of cultivation.

Dikshitar[18] describes the primaeval age (i.e., the State of Nature) as democracy of the ideal type. Sharma[19] believes in the blissfulness of the State of Nature. The discovery of cultivation ended nomadic life and fostered the sense of property which destroyed harmony and led to anarchical chaos. This condition is defined as *mātsya-nyāya* on the analogy of the big fish devouring the smaller fishes, i.e. the jungle law of might is right. The extant traces of the idea can be found as early as in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[20] The *Rāmāyaṇa*,[21] the *Mahābhārata*,[22] the *Jātakas*,[23] the *Arthaśāstra*[24] and the *Manusmṛti*[25] present a horrifying spectre of the chaos in a kingless State. This was thus regarded as the fountain-head of all the evils and was genuinely dreaded. J.W. Spellman rightly says, "In ancient India, the fear of anarchy was almost pathological."[26]

Thus the ancient Indian thinkers seem to emphasize the necessity of kingship by painting a dark picture of the State of Nature. They seem to be interested in justifying the existence of kingship rather than speculating upon the State of Nature itself.

18 V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 51.
19 R. S. Sharma, *Aspect of Political Ideas and Institutions*, p. 24.
20 XI. 1.6.24.
21 II. 67.
22 XII. 4-9, 61-78, 213.
23 Vol. V, pp. 462-64.
24 I. 13. 22-23.
25 VII. 3-4.
26 *Political Theory of Ancient India*, p. 4.

ṚṢIKA AND ĀKARA

S. SANKARANARAYANAN

There are two opinions among scholars regarding the identification of the country called Ṛṣika (Sanskrit) or Asika (Prakrit), which is mentioned in the literary works and inscriptions of ancient India.

Scholars like H. C. Raychaudhuri[1] and D. C. Sircar[2] locate the Ṛṣika country in the middle valley of the Kṛṣṇā river. In the list of the countries given in the Nasik inscription of Pulumāvi, Asika (Ṛṣika) precedes Asaka (Aśmaka).[3] Again in the list of the southern *deśas* enumerated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ṛṣika, Kuntala and Andhra are mentioned together in a single foot of a *śloka*.[4] Ṛṣika is also mentioned immediately before Kuntala by Varāhamihira.[5] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is placed just after Vidarbha.[6] All these seem to locate Ṛṣika in a region that was contiguous to the Kuntala, Andhra, Aśmaka and Vidarbha countries. Kuntala and Andhra are known to have

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1 See 'Geography of the Deccan' in the *Early History of the Deccan*, ed. Yazdani, p. 27.

2 *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 158.

3 Cf. *Asika–Asaka* ··· *rājasa* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, text line 2).

4 Cf. *Nai(R)ṣikāḥ Kuntalā Andhrāḥ* (Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 31). See also Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

5 Cf. *Samantri(Saḥ-Ātry-R)ṣikāḥ Kuntala-Kerala*, etc. (*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XVI. 11). See also Kern's note on the passage (*Verspreide Geschriften*, Deel I, p. 24, note 4). Of course, for the sake of metre, Varāhamihira often clubs the geographical names in such a way that it is not always easy to determine their relative positions. However, in the present case, he follows the Purāṇic list that seems to indicate the position of the countries. [But see Sircar, *Cosm. Geog.*, p. 91.—Ed.]

6 *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 41.11 ; see also the *Mahābhārata* coupling Ṛṣika with Vidarbha as cited in *CII*, Vol. V, p. 123.

respectively comprised the upper and lower valleys of the Kṛṣṇā river.[7] Aśmaka is to be equated either with the region of the Ahmadnagar and Bhir Districts or with the region a little further south-east in the Nanded and Nizamabad Districts,[8] both in the former Hyderabad State. Similarly, the southern boundary of the Vidarbha country was the Godāvarī[9] or the Bidar-Telingana region further south.[10] In view of all this, it is reasonable to locate, as the scholars of the first group do, the country of Ṛṣika in the middle valley of the Kṛṣṇā which is contiguous to the regions mentioned above. Moreover, the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela of Kaliṅga seems to confirm the above contention. For, we learn from this record that the Mahāmeghavāhana ruler despatched a sizable army to the west, disregarding king Śātakarṇi [of the west], and that the army terrified Asikanagara, i.e. the chief city of the Ṛṣika country, when it reached the Kanhabeṁṇā, i.e., the Kṛṣṇā river.[11] This shows that the capital of Ṛṣika was on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā.

V. V. Mirashi, on the other hand, identifies Ṛṣika with the Khandesh region.[12] This location is based on the following points : (1) In the list of countries given in the above Nasik inscription, Ṛṣika is mentioned together with Aśmaka and Mūlaka (the latter lying to the north of the Godāvarī). The *Rāmāyaṇa* also shows that Ṛṣika was contiguous to the Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Vidarbha countries, and the only country which answers to this geographical position is Khandesh.[13] (2) It is

7 See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 43 ; V. V. Mirashi, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 18.

8 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 154. [Its capital Paudanya seems to be modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad District.—Ed.]

9 Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

10 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

11 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 215.

12 See *CII*, Vol. V, pp. 123-34.

13 *Loc. cit.*

pointed out that the river Kṛṣṇā flows to the south, not west, of Kaliṅga which was the kingdom of Khāravela. (3) Therefore Mirashi identifies Kanhabeṁṇā of the Hathigumpha inscription with the Kanhan, a tributary of the Wain-Gaṅgā that flows near Nagpur. In this connection, our attention is drawn to the facts that this river was on the west of the Kaliṅga kingdom and that the Vidarbha area, as numismatic evidence shows, was under the Śātakarṇis, i.e., the Śātavāhanas or their feudatories. Therefore the relevant passage of the Hathigumpha inscription is taken to mean that, when Khāravela's army reached the Kanhan, the people of Ṛṣika (modern Khandesh, which borders Vidarbha on the west) were terrified.[14]

As regards the first of the three points, it may be pointed out that Khandesh is not contiguous to the Kuntala and Andhra countries, as Ṛṣika seems to have been according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Again, the Nasik list of the countries runs as *Asika-Asaka-Mulaka*, etc., and it may indicate the juxtaposition of Aśmaka and Mūlaka, and not of Ṛṣika and Mūlaka as well.* Coming to the second point, attention may be drawn to the inscriptions of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Siri-Sada,[15] probably one of the immediate predecessors of Khāravela,[16] which have been discovered recently at Guntu-

14 V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, pp. 45-47.

* [Aśmaka, sometimes regarded as a *mahājanapada*, seems on occasions to have comprised both Ṛṣika and Mūlaka. The *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka* (III. 1) speaks of a common border between the Kaliṅga and Aśmaka countries, and we know that Aśmaka (capital Paudanya, modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad District, A. P.) formed a part of the Śātavāhana kingdom.—Ed.]

15 *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 30 ff.

16 The characters of these records seem to be slightly earlier than that of the Hathigumpha inscription. Sircar regards the Guntupalli inscription as considerably later than the Hathigumpha epigraph and king Siri-Sada as one of the successors of Khāravela (*ibid.*, p. 31). In any case, the Cedi rulers of Kaliṅga held sway over the coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh. [The Guntupalli inscription can hardly be assigned to a date earlier than that of the Hathigumpha inscription.—Ed.]

palli in the West Godavari District. This shows that the dominions of the Cedis included coastal Andhra also. Moreover, the Hathigumpha inscription itself bears witness to the fact that the army of Khāravela had been quite active in the Masulipatnam area[17] (in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh), just on the western side of which scholars of the first group actually locate the Ṛṣika country on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. It is natural that Khāravela sent his army a little further west and terrified Ṛṣikanagara on the Kṛṣṇā. The third point too is a debatable one. For had Khāravela's army reached the Kanhan (a tributary of the Wainganga, which passes by 80° long.) in the easternmost part of the Vidarbha country, it would have frightened the people of Vidarbha first and foremost. Indeed, it is strange that the said army on the banks of the Kanhan should have driven the people of far off Khandesh (roughly between 74° and 76° long.) into panic.

Besides, there is also another evidence to be considered. The Nasik list of the territories of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi mentions both Ṛṣika and Ākara[18] which are also found in the lists of southern countries given by Varāhamihira and Parāśara.[19] While translating the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Kern identified Ākara with Khandesh.[20] Scholars like M. Monier-Williams[21] and V. S. Apte[22] have done the same. If this identification is accepted, then the lists given by the Nasik inscription and Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, etc., in which both the countries (viz. Khandesh,

17 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 214.

18 Cf. *Asika-Asaka ...... Ākar-Āvati-rājasa* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, text line 2).

19 *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 12, 15. See Utpala-bhaṭṭa's commentary thereunder for quotation from Parāśara.

20 *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

21 *Sans.-Eng. Dict.* (1899), s. v. *Ākara.*

22 *Sans.-Eng. Dict.* (1957), s. v. *Ākara.*

i.e. Ākara, and Ṛṣika) figure, may indicate that they are different from one another and not identical.

The identification of Ākara with Khandesh is not accepted by scholars like Bhagawanlal Indraji and Rapson who identify Ākara with Eastern Malwa, having its capital at Vidiśā.[23] However, it may be pointed out that Kālidāsa refers to the last mentioned region by the name Daśārṇa.[24] To say that Daśārṇa and Ākara were two names of the same land of Eastern Malwa[25] seems to ignore the testimony of ancient writers like Varāhamihira and Parāśara who include Daśārṇa in the list of south-eastern *janapadas* and Ākara along with Veṇā and Avanti in the list of southern countries.[26]

Further, the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman I gives a list of countries included in the dominions of that *Mahākṣatrapa*. There the list commences with the expression *pūrv-āpar-Ākar-Avanty-Anūpanivṛt*, etc.[27] Here *pūrv-āpara* is a *Dvandva* compound and is added in a *Karmadhāraya* to the following

23 See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 259; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 36, note; Vol. XVI, p. 631: Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhras*, etc., p. xxxiii; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, *op. cit.*, p. 178, note.

24 *Meghadūta*, I. 23.

25 Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 88, note.

26 See *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 10, 12 ff., and Utpala-bhaṭṭa's commentary thereunder for quotation from Parāśara. *Ākara-Veṇ-Āvantika* is the reading of the passage in Kern's (*op. cit.*, p. 235) and *Ākara-Veṇ-Āvantaka* in Indraji's copy (*Bom. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 36, note; Vol. XVI, p. 631). The text published in Banaras (1895, p. 228) and Bangalore (1947, p. 162), however, read *Ākara-Veṇ-Āvartaka*. But as Parāśara adds these three units, viz. Ākara, Veṇā and Avanti (and not Āvartaka) among the southern *janapadas*, the reading of the name of Avanti is preferable. For Avanti, see Bhaṭṭotpala under *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 2-4, 11-16. [In the second edition of *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 271, we have supported the reading *Āvantaka* on the basis of the Bangabasi (Calcutta) edition of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. As regards Ākara and Daśārṇa, originally, one may have been a part of the other. It is difficult to attach importance to the order of names in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.—Ed.]

27 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44, text line 11.

Ākara, etc. It is usually believed that Ākar-Āvanti denotes the entire Malwa, Ākara being East Malwa and Avanti West Malwa.[28] But, in that case, why do we have the unnecessary adjectives *pūrva* and *apara*, as the names Ākara and Avanti could themselves independently denote the same? On the other hand, if Ākara denotes Khandesh as suggested by Kern and others, then the adjectives may serve a good purpose. As in the case of Malwa, so in the case of Khandesh also, the territory seems to have been divided into eastern and western units on one reason or the other.[29] Moreover to say that Ākar-Āvanti denotes a single unit seems once again to take no cognizance of the evidences of Varāhamihira and Parāśara. For the former mentions the country of the Veṇā in between Ākara and Avanti while the latter enumerates many *deśas* between Avanti and Ākara in his list.

In truth, the evidence of Vātsyāyana, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira, Bāṇa, Rājaśekhara and Vātsyāyana's commentator Yaśodhara clearly shows that the eastern part of Malwa was known by the name Daśārṇa or Mālava, while the western part was called Avanti, and that only in a later period the whole territory became a single unit named Mālava.[30] Therefore *pūrv-āpar-Ākar-Āvanti* of Rudradāman's inscription may not indicate the eastern and western parts of a single geographical unit, viz., modern Malwa. As a matter of fact, while the expression *pūrv-āpara* cannot avoid qualifying the immediately following name Ākara, it may remain as *kṛtakṛtya* or as the one

28 See Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii, cxix; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 178, note.

29 Mirashi is of the opinion that two branches of a royal house of *Mahārāja* Svāmirāja (c. 316-68 A.D.) were ruling over two parts of Khandesh (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. xxxvi).

30 See the *Kāmasūtra*, II. 5. 22, 25 and the *Jayamaṅgalā* thereunder; *Meghadūta*, I. 23-24, 27, 30; *Kādambarī* (NSP, 1948), pp. 11-12, 116; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (GOS), p. 9. See also Sircar, 'Mālava as the Name of the Ujjayinī Region', in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXV, Part I, pp. 1ff.

serving its purpose by qualifying Ākara alone.[31] There seems to be no reason why it should be taken to qualify the next name Avanti also. Or else, why should it not be dragged further to qualify the succeeding Anūpa and others ? Besides, the rules of grammar may not permit one to construe in the compound, *pūrva* (eastern) with Ākara and *apara* (western) with Avanti, as has been generally done.[32]

At any rate, on the basis of what we have discussed above, it may be concluded that Ākara was different from Daśārṇa or East Malwa, and that it is also probably identical with Khandesh which is therefore different from Ṛṣika. It is interesting to note in this context that, just as the Nasik list begins with Asika (Ṛṣika), the southernmost country in Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's empire,[33] the Junagadh list also commences with Ākara, the southernmost territory in Rudradāman's empire, which seems to have included territories upto the Nasik District in the south.[34]

31 I.e. by a *Tatpuruṣa* compound as *Ākarasya pūrv-āparau pūrv-āpar-Ākarau* according to the rule *Pūrv-āpara.* etc. (Pāṇini, II. 2.1).

32 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 259 ; etc. For *pūrva* and *apara* are *dik-chabdas* (words denoting points of compass) and *pūrv-Ākara* and *apar-Āvanti* are not *saṁjñās* or proper names of places or countries, like *pūrveṣukāmaśami, apareṣukāmaśami*, etc. Nor is it possible to have a compound to get the meaning 'the eastern and western [parts of] Ākar-Āvanti'. For, as we have already seen, *Ākar-Āvanti*, does not constitute *ekādhikaraṇa* (single unit) as required by grammar. See the *Kāśikā*, *Siddhāntakaumudī*, etc., under *dik-saṁkhye saṁjñāyām* and *pūrv-āpar-ādhar-ottaram=ekadeśen=aikādhikaraṇe* (Pāṇini, II. 1. 50 ; 2. 1).

33 Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 158.

34 Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (ed. Majumdar), p. 185. [Sylvain Levi rightly pointed out that the Junagadh list indicates Rudradāman's extension of conquests from north to south while the Nasik list of Gautamīputra's territories conquered in a reverse order of succession. Thus Ākara was apparently near Avanti in the upper part of Rudradāman's territory. We have taken the expression *pūrv-āpara* at the beginning of the compound to suggest 'counted from east to west'. See *Stud. Geog.*, 2nd ed., p. 273.—Ed.]

TWO NEW TYPES OF COLA FANAM

B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

The coins, with which the present note is concerned, belong to the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals at the National Museum, Copenhagen.[1] I am grateful to the Keeper and Mrs. Anne K. Balling for the photographs and for the kind permission they have given me for publishing these and other Indian coins in the Collection.

1. Base gold ; weight ; 0.21 grammes.

   Obverse : within border of dots, a crude standing figure (as on the common types of Rājarāja).[2]

   Reverse : two-line Nāgarī legend : (1) *Jaya-* (2) *cola.*

From appearance, the coin may be compared with the published issues of Yuddhamalla[3] who unfortunately is still unidentified.[4] Although the obverse device is different, the

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1 This Collection, although not very well-known to Indian scholars, is quite rich in Indian, particularly South Indian, coins. The major source of this Collection is, I am told, E. Loventhal, the Danish missionary of Vellore and author of the *Coins of Tinnevelly* (Madras, 1888).

2 Cf. M. H. Krishna in *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1934*, p. 60, Plate XVIII, and C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Colas*, Varanaṣi, 1968, Plates I-III.

3 Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 65, No. 26 ; Plate XVIII. 26 ; Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 50, No. 29 ; Plate III. 29.

4 Yuddhamalla occurs in the Eastern Cālukya and Vemulavāḍa gelealogies (cf. *The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, Oxford University Press, Parts VII–XI, pp. 502, 505) and not in the Cola genealogy; but Yuddhamalla of the coins may be assigned to the Cola dynasty on the strength of the obverse device. It is, however, futile to hypothetize, as has been done by Biddulph, that the type "could have been struck by Rājendra I Cola, as a special issue at the time of the marriage of his daughter to the Cālukya Rājarāja Narendra (A. D. 1019–1061), the father of Rājendra II (Cālukya), who was known subsequently as Kulottuṅga I (Cola)" (*op. cit.*, p. 21).

two-line Nāgarī legend on the present coin is written in a fashion identical with that of Yuddhamalla's coins. The weight of the coin also corresponds approximately to half of the standard represented by the same coins. Together, these similarities suggest chronological proximity between the two types.

However, no specific attribution of the present coin seems possible. The legend *Jayacola* is a title and may stand for either Rājarāja I Jayaṅgondān[5] (985-1016 A. D.), or Rājādhirāja I Jayakondacola[6] (1018-1054 A. D.) or Kulottuṅga I Jayadhara[7] (1070-1122 A. D.).

2. Base gold ; weight : 0.10 grammes.

Obverse : within border of dots, a stylized seated tiger to right between two lampstands.

Reverse : two-line Tamil legend which I can only imperfectly read as : (1) *Ceta* (2) *...la.*

The 'tiger' device on the obverse is comparable to the identical animal of the obverse complex on the coins of Yuddhamalla and on other types which feature the 'tiger' along with 'bow' and 'fish'.[8] The 'tiger' was the dynastic emblem of the Colas and hence it associates the coin with that dynasty.

The coins are unique in several respects. Only two points need to be underlined here. While the weight of the first coin is roughly half of that of Yuddhamalla's coins, the second coin has almost half the weight of the first coin. If Yuddhamalla's issues represent the *paṇa* (i.e., *fanam*) standard (and that is very likely), the present coins may be regarded as hitherto unknown specimens of Cola $\frac{1}{2}$ *fanam* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *fanam* respectively and are

5 *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934, para. 15.

6 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Index, p. 9.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

8 Cf. Krishna, *op. cit.*, Plate XVIII, Nos. 1, 3-5, 23, 26 ; Biddulph, *op. cit.*, Plate I. 1 ; Plate III. 25-29.

very important for a study of the metrology of Cola gold coins.

The legends are also new. Read properly, the Tamil legend on the second coin is likely to yield the name of the issuer. I would like to request the Editor of this *Journal* to read the complete legend and suggest a specific attribution for the coin.*

* [Sri K. G. Krishnan, Superintending Epigraphist, A. S. I., reads the legend as *Cedi-kula* and assigns the characters to about the first quarter of the 12th century and the coin to a scion of some Cedi dynasty. Could he belong to the Cedi family on his mother's side ?—Ed.]

UNINSCRIBED CAST AND INSCRIBED COINAGE

NISAR AHMAD

Early indigenous coins other than punch-marked include uninscribed as well as inscribed issues minted by the cast or die-struck techniques. I propose to examine in these lines the question of commencement of the uninscribed copper cast and inscribed coinages.

I

Like punch-marked coins, the copper cast coins are uninscribed and therefore do not suggest the identity of their strikers. About their circulation, Allan holds that 'they belong mainly to Central India and the United Provinces'.[1] But the recent discoveries suggest their wide circulation,[2] the eastern limit being Chandraketugarh,[3] the southern Nevasa,[4] and the north-western Taxila.[5] They come from the sites of East and West Pakistan and Nepal.[6] For the date of these coins, Allan suggests third-second century B.C.[7] The following excavated sites indicate the stratigraphical positions of the coins.

Ahichchhatra. At this place,[8] the round cast copper coins with elephant on the obverse and three-arched hill on the reverse are met in Stratum VIII datable to c. 300 to 200

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1 *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxvi.

2 See *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX.

3 *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, p. 30 ; 1960-61, pp. 39-40 ; 1961-62, p. 63 ; 1962-63, p. 46 ; 1963-64 (cyclostyled copy), pp. 96-98.

4 Sankalia and others, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa*, pp. 164-67.

5 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxiii.

6 *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-63, p. 74.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. lxxvii.

8 *Anc. Ind.*, No. 1, pp. 37-59 ; *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 188 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Part II, p. 5.

B.C. These coins also occur alongwith the square cast copper issues bearing the elephant, *svastika*-topped standard and taurine symbols on the obverse and tree in railing, hollow cross and arched hill on the reverse in Stratum VII dating from 200 B. C. to 100 B. C.

Hastinapur. Here[9] the earliest occurrence of coins is noted in Period III dating from 600 B. C. to 200 B. C. They are round, square, rectangular and irregular-shaped uninscribed and punch-marked coins. They continue in Period IV dating from 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. In the Report only eight coins are described and among them seven are stratified. The symbols on the obverse are three-arched crescented hill, square with diagonals, elephant and parallel oblique lines. On the reverse, there are tree with ovate lanceolate leaves, tree within railing, circle with four crescents around, crescent on hill and parallel vertical lines. Their periodwise distribution is as follows ; I. Round : Early level of Period III—2 coins ; Late level of Period III—2 coins. II. Square : Late level of Period III—1 coin ; III. Rectangular : Early level of Period IV—1 coin ; IV. Irregular : Late level of Period IV—1 coin.

Rupar. This site[10] has yielded cast copper coins along with punch-marked coins and an inscribed seal (from an upper level) in Stratum III and the lower levels of Stratum IV, which are dated from 600 B. C. to 200 B. C. and from 200 B. C. to 600 A. D. respectively.

Purana Qila. This place[11] also witnesses the existence of copper cast coins alongwith punch-marked coins in Period II having similar cultural assemblage as Period III of Hastinapur, which is assigned to a date from the sixth to the 3rd century B. C.

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9 *Anc. Ind.*, Nos. 10-11, pp. 101-03.

10 *Ind. Arch.*, 1953-54, p. 67 ; *Lalit Kala*, 1955-56, Nos. 1-2, pp. 121-ff.

11 *Ind. Arch.*, 1953-54, pp. 113-14.

Kausambi. At this site,[12] 55 cast coins were obtained. They are classified into groups : II (A) Square cast coins—29 ; (B) Round cast coins—4 ; (C) Lanky bull type—4 ; (D) Tiny coins—18.

On the obverse of the square cast coins occur elephant before a triangle-headed standard and some associated symbols, and on the reverse the symbols are tree in railing, hollow cross, arched hill and taurine. These coins are claimed to have started from Structural Period II—5[13] to Structural Period III—16 dated from 885 B.C. to 45 B.C. The round cast coins have on their obverse elephant with or without rider, and on the reverse crescent on hill. These coins occur in Structural Period III—10 to 14 dated from 535 to 185 B. C. The mythical animal or Lanky bull type is met within Structural Period III—12 to 16 dated from 395 to 45 B.C. Tiny coins are discovered from Structural Period III and IV dated from 395 B.C. to 235 A.D.

Rajghat. At Rajghat,[14] this money first occurs in the late level of I-B dated from 600 B.C. to 400 A.D. and continues in the subsequent Periods, i.e., II and III. The total number of the cast coins from this site is 32 which are divided into two types : (1) Single-sided—2 ; (2) Double-sided—30. The double-sided coins are further classified into two groups, viz. Square—25 and Round—5. Both these occur in I-B.

12 G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kausambi*, 1957-59, pp. 19, 23, 82-85.

13 The characteristic pottery of the third period are Black and Red Ware and Painted Grey Ware.

14 Based on the author's study ; see also *Ind. Arch.*, 1957-58, p. 50 ; 1960-61, p. 37. Purshottam Singh (*Seminar Papers on Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 107) and S. C. Ray (*JNSI*, XXIX, Part II, p. 7) say that these coins at Rajghat hail from sub-period I-C dating from 400 to 200 B.C. ; but their earliest occurrence is noted in I-B ascribable to 600 B. C. to 400 B. C. ; see the Chapter on Coins contributed to the *Report of Rajghat Excavations.*

Kumrahar. This site[15] yields 72 copper cast coins. Among them, 60 are found from regular excavations and the rest were collected from unstratified horizons. The stratified coins come from the following periods : Period I—9 ; Period II—23 ; Period III—27 ; Period IV—1.

In Period I the copper punch-marked coins also occur. The latest limit of this period is fixed by the excavators as c. 150 B.C. Period II is dated from 150 B.C. to 100 A. D. and Period III from 100 to 300 A. D.

Vaisali. Here in the excavations of 1950,[16] cast copper coins come from Periods II and III assigned to c. 150 B. C. to 100 A.D. and to 100 to 300 A.D.,[17] whereas in the excavations conducted during the years 1960-61[18] cast copper coins were found along with punch-marked issues in a period datable from 600 to 200 B. C.[19]

Tamluk. At this site[20] cast copper coins were obtained from Period II dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C.

Chandraketugarh. At this place,[21] in the excavation conducted during the years 1956-57, copper cast coins were unearthed from Period III designated by the excavator as 'Post Śuṅga'. The next season's (1967-68) work at this place brought out the cast copper coins from its levels belonging to the early Gupta period.

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15 Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavation, 1951-55*, pp. 92ff. See also Nisar Ahmad, 'On the Copper Cast Coins found from Kumrahar Excavation', *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 111ff.

16 Deva and Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations*, 1950, pp. 3, 6-7, 48-59.

17 *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 8, note 1.

18 *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 5.

19 *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 8.

20 *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-55, pp. 19-20.

21 *Ibid.*, 1956-57, pp. 29-30 ; 1957-58, pp. 51-52.

Maheshwar. At Maheshwar,[22] 7 coins were dug up from Period V dating from 100 B.C. to 200 A.D., according to the excavators. The lower limit may be fixed as 150 B. C. The rest were mostly surface finds.

Navadatoli. At this place,[23] only two coins were discovered from diggings, one from Period III which is proto-historic and the other from Period VII which is designated 'Muslim-Maratha'. Hence the evidence of this place is not helpful for dating the coins.[24]

Nasik. At this site,[25] two round copper cast coins were found from period II-B dated between 200 B. C. and 50 A. D. according to the excavators, though Roy feels that the lower limit may be pushed back between 300 and 250 B. C.[26]

Nevasa. Here[27] copper cast coins were found along with Śātavāhana coins from Periods IV and V dated respectively from 150 to 50 B. C. and from 50 B. C. to 200 A. D. Roy suggests that the lower limit, 150 B. C., may be pushed back to about 300 to 250 B. C. Hence he holds that the coins can be assigned to the age from 300 or 325 B. C. to about 200 A. D.[28]

It is held on the basis of the Kausambi evidence that at

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22 Sankalia and others, *The Excavations at Maheswar and Navadatoli*, pp. 68ff. ; also Nisar Ahmad, 'On the Local Coins of Maheshwar and Navadatoli Excavations', *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, 1968, pp. 89 ff.

23 Nisar Ahmad, *loc. cit.*

24 Roy says that this site presentsthe cast copper in a still earlier stratum in Period IV, assignable to c. 400 to 100 B.C., where they are interlocked with NBP Ware and Black-and-Red Ware (*JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 10). But the statement is not accurate.

25 Sankalia and Deo, *Report on the Excavations of Nasik and Jorwe*, pp. 30-33.

26 *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, 1968, pp. 97-99.

27 *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa*, pp. 164-67.

28 *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, 1968, p. 101.

least one type of uninscribed cast coins, i.e., round cast coins, was issued as early as the beginning of the 9th century B. C. and is earlier than the other types of cast coins.[29] But the contention needs corroboration from other sites. Similarly, on this basis or on the evidences of Ahichhatra and Hastinapur, we cannot conclude that round cast coins are earlier than the square cast coins. The evidence coming from Varanasi, in fact, suggests that they are contemporary. Further, their occurrence along with the silver punch-marked coins and NBP Ware also indicates that both the currencies started about the end of 6th or the beginning of 5th century B.C.[30] The stratigraphical contexts also reveal that, in the lower Gangetic Valley, these coins were introduced in the 4th century B. C. with the expansion of the Mauryan empire. They reached the southern part of our country in the third century B. C. From the scarcity of the copper punch-marked coins, Cunningham was rightly led to believe that they must have been current together with the silver coins.[31] The occurrence of copper cast coins alongwith the silver punch-marked coins in well-stratified contexts at various sites and rarely in association with the copper punch-marked coins suggests that these coins forming part of the silver punch-marked coin system served as the money of lower denomination and substituted the copper punch-marked coins.

The uninscribed copper cast coins were continued to be circulated in the Mid-Gangetic Valley upto the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa periods, and rarely in the Gupta period, as indicated by the Kumrahar excavations, and, in Eastern India, they were in circulation down to the early Gupta period. The coins are also discovered along with the Śātavāhana issues at Nevasa ; but

29 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

30 [We are not sure about such datings.—Ed.]

31 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 60.

they cannot be considered as part of the Śātavāhana money as, at Chandravalli,[32] the Śātavāhana coins are found devoid of any piece of this type.

Allan is right when he says that the cast coins having elephant before triangle-headed standard, *svastika* and taurine above the animal on the obverse and tree in railing, hollow cross, crescent on hill and taurine[33] on the reverse are 'found chiefly about Benares'[34] as they predominate in the collection of cast coins made in the excavations at Varanasi.

II

Allan thinks that most inscribed coins cannot be earlier than the second or first century B. C., though some of them belong to 3rd century B. C.[35] Dani observes that his study was influenced by factors other than palaeography ; when no other evidence was available, he fell back on the style of writing ; no systematic attempt was made by him to analyse the letters ; he dated some coins to the third century B. C. merely because their script resembled Aśokan Brāhmī ; but no reliance can be placed on such apparent resemblance,[36] because palaeography is a loose basis.[37] Dani's second point is that, if the inscribed coins of Kausambi, Ayodhya, Mathura and other places are assigned to early 2nd century B. C., it would mean that the Śuṅgas had no authority at all even in the main Ganges Valley.[38] Therefore he holds that the penetration of the Indo-Greeks into the heart of India, i.e., the Gangetic valley, about 150 B. C. led

32 *Anc. Ind.*, No. 4, pp. 287ff.

33 *Op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

34 *Ibid.*, p. lxxvii.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. xci-xciii, ciii, cxi.

36 *Indian Palaeography*, p. 59.

37 *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 4.

38 *Loc. cit.* [It is probable that the later Śuṅgas lost their hold on the Ganges Valley ; cf. Sircar, *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, pp. 59-60.—Ed.]

to the introduction of the local inscribed money.[39] The evidence of palaeography can be used both ways. But his second objection can be set aside if we critically recall the facts that soon after the death of Aśoka, the mighty Magadhan empire began to decline[40] and, as pointed out by Narain, Puṣyamitra was able to control three administrative centres of the preceding kings, Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā and Vidiśā.[41] Sinha rightly suggests that the political condition of Northern India such as it existed during the time of the later Mauryas must have favoured the rise of the local powers to a position of eminence, asserting their authority in the region under their control and, at the same time, freeing themselves of the authority of the declining power of the Mauryas.[42] As such the local powers which declared their independence can be considered to have issued the money with the names of the local rulers as testimony of their new status. It is not unlikely that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and his successors had to contend with these well-established local rulers.[43]

For Dani's contention that the inscribed coins in the Gangetic valley are later than Indo-Greek penetration, it may be said that certainly the earliest pieces of Ayodhya cannot be dated prior to this period ;[44] but the beginning of the inscribed issues at Mathura and Kausambi cannot be placed after the first half of the second century B. C. because, at Mathura, at least 14 princes[45] flourished before Śaka rule, i.e. the end of

39 *Loc. cit.*

40 *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 14.

41 *Indo-Greeks*, p. 10.

42 *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 68.

43 *Loc. cit.* [We have doubts about the plausibility of this theory. —Ed.]

44 Nisar Ahmad, 'History and Coinage of Ayodhya', *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part I.

45 *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 41-42.

1st century B. C.,[46] and at Kausambi, 25 kings ruled before the occupation of the Kuṣāṇas, i.e. the last quarter of the first century A.D. If we assign to each of them the reign period of 15 years, we account for 210 and 375 years respectively as the total duration of the rule of the kings of Mathura and Kausambi.* Again, for the Negama coins discovered at Taxila, Dani at one place himself writes that they must be placed in the earlier half of the second century B. C.[47] He also takes them as the proto-type of Indo-Greek coins.[48] If inscribed pieces had been introduced in the north-western part of our sub-continent before this region was occupied by the Indo-Greeks, then the people of the Gangetic valley need not have learnt the use of legends on coins from the Indo-Greeks, because they must have had intercourse with their countrymen living in the north-western part. Further, the coins bearing the legend *Vedisa* at Vidiśā on stratigraphical and C-14 grounds is dated to 3rd-2nd century B. C.[49]

Sircar also holds that "since the fashion of mentioning the name of the ruling authority in the coin-legend was inspired and popularised in India by foreign kings, beginning with the Indo-Greeks, most of the coins bearing such legends should preferably be assigned to a date later than the early decades of the second century B. C. This suggestion is supported by the palaeography of the legends on the coins in question. It is well known that stone inscriptions and coin-legends usually exhibit less developed forms of letters. Nevertheless, even the earliest

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46 We have an epigraph of Śoḍāsa dated in the year 72, i.e. 15 A. D. Therefore, Rañjuvula may be placed about the end of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era.

*[For difficulty with such averages, see *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, ed. Sircar, pp. 24-25.—Ed.]

47 *Indian Palaeography*, p. 60.

48 *Loc. cit.*

49 *Seminar Papers on the Coins of Northern India*, p. 159 and note 2.

inscribed coins do not appear to be earlier than the Besnagar inscription of the end of the second century B.C."[50] Thus he is not in favour of dating the inscribed coins before the end of the second century B.C. But this view may not be accepted because of the following reasons :

1. Greek influence in India cannot be taken to start with Antialcidas whose ambassador was Heliodorus.[51]

2. The Indo-Greeks did not rule all over India, but only in the north-western part.

3. The north-western region of our country was familiar with the inscribed coins before the Indo-Greek occupation of this area.

4. This part was in contact with the outside world, with the Achaemenians from the 6th century B. C.[52] and with the Hellenistic world from the latter half of the 4th century B. C.[53] Both these cultures used inscribed money.

5. The Negama issues of Taxila have poor lettering in comparison to the fine workmanship seen on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles.[54]

6. Allan assigns the coins bearing the legend *Negama* in Brāhmī script on one side to the first quarter of the second century B.C. ; yet he says, if any deduction is to be made from their absence from the well-known hoard of coins of Taxila, Pantaleon and Agathocles, it is that they are later than these Greek rulers and not earlier."[55] But it must be remembered that these inscribed pieces were not regular money and therefore, only on this ground, we cannot place them after the said Indo-Greek kings.

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50 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 159.

51 *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of northern India*, p. 138.

52 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 39ff

53 *Seminar Papers on the Chronology of Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 86ff.

54 Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

55 *Op. cit.*, pp. cxxvii-cxxviii.

7. Dani rightly points out that the Negama coins are not a later degeneration of the Greek issues, because the Greek coins imitate not only the square shape, but also the incuse stamping of the local issues,[56] and for coins of the Hirañasame series, Allan also holds that they served as the original for the coins of Agathocles ; this prince retained the star and mountain on the obverse and replaced the plant by a tree-in-railing and the legend *Hirañasame* by *Akathukrayasa* in Kharoṣṭhī on his regular issues.[57] It is to be noted here that the tree-in-railing also occur on a coin of the Hirañasame series.[58] Narain places Pantaleon between 185 and 175 B. C. and Agathocles between 180 and 165 B.C.[59] The coins of the Hirañasame type are issued in four varieties[60] and therefore the commencement of the issues of this series may be placed at least in the beginning of the 2nd century B. C.*

8. These Negama coins also bear the legend on the reverse sometimes inscribed in the Brāhmī script and sometimes in Kharoṣṭhī. It is to be noted that the coins of only one class that have the legend *Dojaka* are inscribed in both the scripts.[61] The coins of the Hirañasame series[62] and the copied issues of Agathocles[63] both have legends in the Kharoṣṭhī scripts. Hence the change of the scripts from Brāhmī to Kharoṣṭhī in the legends can be marked. Thus at least a little time gap should be visualized between the introduction of the Brāhmī

56 *Loc. cit.*

57 *Op. cit.*, p. cxxxii.

58 Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 760.

59 *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

60 Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19 ; Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 18, No. 51 ; Marshall, *loc. cit.*

* [The dating seems to be problematical.—Ed.]

61 Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-15.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19 ; Whitehead, *loc. cit.* ; Marshall, *loc. cit.*

63 Whitehead, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 52-53.

inscription and shifting to the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script on the monetary issues of this region.

Therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude that the inscribed money commenced with the close of the 3rd century B. C.[64] It is possible that the idea of putting letters on the coins was suggested by the then arriving Greek monetary pieces.

64 [We do not consider the arguments in favour of this conclusion as conclusive. Even though the early Śātavāhanas, the Kuṣāṇas and the earliest Gupta kings had neighbours issuing silver money, they were not influenced or inspired by that. This is due to conservatism of a particular type. It is well known that imitations are often worse than the originals in many respects, so that poor imitations need not be regarded as earlier than the originals. The evidence of the archaeological excavations, as interpreted by the excavators, is more or less tentative and indefinite in many cases. It seems that Dr. Ahmad could have brought in his discussion the Indian imitation of the Athenian owls and the coins of Sophytes.—Ed.]

INDOLOGICAL NOTES*

D. C. SIRCAR

8. *Ardhanārī-Gaṇapati*

In a note on the god Gaṇapati appearing in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II (1968-69), 1969, pp. 112ff., Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay drew our attention to the reference to Gaṇapati competing with his father's Ardhanārīśvara form and assuming the said form, in the *Halāyudhastotra* incised in 1063 A. D. in the Māndhātā Amareśvara temple, and to the dual form *Gaṇapayoḥ* in the opening benedictory passage of the Baijnāth *praśasti*. On the basis of these, Sm. Mukhopadhyay suggested that the two records refer to Gaṇapati and his Śakti combined in a single Ardhanārī form. The date of the Baijnāth record is quoted by Sm. Mukhopadhyay as 804 A. D. following Bühler's tentative reading of it as 'Śaka 726'.[1] The correct reading is, however, 'Śaka 1126' corresponding to 1204 A. D.[2]

In the inter-university seminar on 'Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature' held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, on the 22nd of February, 1969, we read a paper entitled 'Ardhanārī-Nārāyaṇa' which appeared in the proceedings of the series of two days' seminars published under the title *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, 1970, pp. 133-41. In it, we referred to the Ardhanārī form of

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* Nos. 1–3 appeared above, Vol. I, pp. 83-98, and Nos. 4-7 in Vol III, pp. 133-51.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 112ff.

2 *ASI*, A. R., 1905-05, pp. 19f.; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1084 and note 4.

Viṣṇu (on the basis of our notice of Kamalārdhāṅgīna-Nārāyaṇa in a Gayā inscription of the 11th century A. D.,[3] P. Pal's and S. B. Deo's notices of certain later specimens from Nepal[4] and Sm. Kalpana S. Desai's notice of two stanzas in the *Śilparatna*)[5] and also to those of Śiva and the Sun-god and of Gaṇapati, the discussion on Ardhanārī-Gaṇapati being based on Sm. Mukhopadhyay's note.

Later our attention was drawn to D. C. Bhattacharya's paper entitled 'The Composite Image of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1966 (pp. 261ff.), which is stated to have been issued in October, 1968, though it reached some Fellows and Members of the Society like ourselves about a year later.

As regards the composite Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī image, Bhattacharya refers to P. Pal's paper, to which he adds the two *Śilparatna* stanzas,[6] and further notes that one of the two verses is also found in the *Sāradātilaka Tantra*.[7] It seems that, due to reasons similar to those underlying Bhattacharya's paper reaching us late, Bhattacharya's attention was not drawn to Sm. Kalpana S. Desai's discussion on the *Śilparatna* stanzas in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIV, 1965, pp. 292-96, and neither Pal nor Bhattacharya had any knowledge of the Gayā inscription mentioning Kamalārdhāṅgīna Nārāyaṇa, which was re-edited by us in the *Epigraphic Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, April, 1965, pp. 92-94.

In the same context, Bhattacharya's paper draws the attention of scholars to the *Śilparatna*, Part II, Ch. XXV, verse 74, and quotes the text as follows :

3 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 92ff.

4 *JAS*, Vol. V, 1963, pp. 73ff. ; *Bhāratī*, Vols. X-XI, 1966-68, pp. 125ff.

5 *JOI*, Vol. XVI, 1965, pp. 292ff,

6 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XCVIII, Part II, Ch. XXV, verse 75, and Ch. XXII, verse 23 (also found in the *Sāradātilaka Tantra*).

7 *Tantrik Texts*, Vol. XVI, ed. A. Avalon, Part I, Ch. VI, verse 45. See *Ardhalakṣmīhari* mentioned in the previous stanza.

atha Śakti-Gaṇapatiḥ /

dvābhyāṁ bibhrājamānaṁ druta-kanaka-mahāśṛṅkhalābhyāṁ karābhyāṁ

bījapūr-ādi-śumbhad-daśa-bhuja-lalitaṁ pañca-bīja-svarūpam /

sandhyā-sindūra-varṇaṁ stana-bhara-namitaṁ tuṇḍilaṁ san-nitambaṁ

kaṇṭhād=ūrdhvaṁ karīndraṁ yuvatimayam=adho naumi devaṁ [*Gaṇeśam*] //

In a footnote, Bhattacharya says that the editor of the *Śilparatna* gives the reading as *yuvatimayamadho* (*taṁ* ?), which he (Bhattacharya) would like to emend as *yuvatimayamadhas-talam*. However, the emendation does not suit the metre. The expression *bījapūr-ādi* in the text is also unsuitable to the metre. To suit the description of Gaṇapati, *tuṇḍila* should, moreover, really be *tundila* which means both the god Gaṇapati and a person having a corpulent body like the said god, while *tuṇḍila* usually means 'talkative'.

Next Bhattacharya quotes the following translation of the above text with the remark that it is not literal but free : "Now about Śakti-Gaṇapati. Salutation to the god Gaṇeśa who has the elephant's head, corpulent belly, vermilion-red colour, well-formed buttocks and breasts and the lower part of whose body is characterised by youthful femininity. The god is the beloved of Śiva and is adorned with the rosary, etc. In two of his hands, he has the chain made of molten gold."

The translation of the word *karīndra* as 'who has the elephant's head' is indeed not literal, but free, while the translation of *bījapurādi-śumbhad-daśa-bhuja-lalitam* as 'the god is the beloved of Śiva and is adorned with rosary, etc.' is not free, but wrong apparently due to a confusion of the word *śumbhat* with Śiva's well-known name 'Śambhu'. Again, the word *bījapūra* means 'a citron', and not 'rosary'. Moreover, the translation ignores the important expression *daśa-bhuja-lalita* referring to the ten arms of the combined deity. The epithet

pañca-bīja-svarūpa probably refers to five *bīj-ākṣaras* associated with the deity's worship.

Bhattacharya goes on to say, "From the above iconographic description it appears that Śakti-Gaṇapati, the composite form of Śakti and Gaṇapati, is in fact the female form of the god Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa, whereas in the two other celebrated composite image-types, viz., Ardhanārīśvara and Ardha-Lakṣmī-Hari, only the left half has female characteristics leaving the right male. But as the iconography of Śakti-Gaṇapati has been described in the *Śilparatna* under the heading *miśramūrtayaḥ* (i.e. composite images) and along with well-known syncretistic image-types, e.g., Ardhanārīśvara, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Hari-Hara, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, etc., there can hardly be any doubt regarding the composite and syncretistic nature of the image type of Śakti-Gaṇapati in which syncretism between the Śāktas and the Gāṇapatyas is involved."

It is not possible to agree with Bhattacharya's view that the Ardhanārī form of Gaṇapati is really a female figure with elephant's head, because that is the form of Gaṇeśa's Śakti or wife with which nobody would be unwise enough to cofuse the form of Ardhanārī Gaṇapati, clearly mentioned in the *Śilparatna* as a *miśra-mūrti*. It should be noted in this connection that the expressions *stana-bhara-namitam* (bent under the weight of a heavy female breast), *san-nitambam* (endowed with a heavy buttock) and *kaṇṭhād=adho yuvatimayam* (with the body below the neck consisting partly of a young girl) are all epithets of the male deity. As regards the expression *yuvatimaya*, the suffix *maya* not only means 'made of', 'composed of' and 'full of', but also 'consisting of', so that it means that the god's body consisted of a female part.

We may mention here that some images of an elephant-headed female deity, identified by scholars with Gaṇeśānī or the Śakti of Gaṇeśa, have been discovered and that Bhattacharya himself refers to the Gaṇeśānī image illustrated in

Getty's *Gaṇeśa*, pp. 29-30, Plate 40, to similar images from Satna (Madhya Pradesh) and the ruins of the Tāmreśvarī temple (Assam) and to the figures of the Buddhist goddess Gaṇapati-hṛdayā, one of which is illustrated by B. Bhattacharya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Fig. 229. One of the most notable of such images, the one noticed by Getty, has been found in the famous Causaṭ Yoginī temple at Bherāghāṭ in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh.[8] Dr. D. R. Das has drawn our attention to some other images of the goddess.[9]

It may also be mentioned that J. N. Banerjea enumerated the 24 types of different Gaṇapati images, one of them being Śakti-Gaṇeśa (Śakti-Gaṇapati).[10] He merely says that contact with the Śakti is noticed in Gaṇeśa images like Śakti-Gaṇeśa.[11] As regards the ten arms of Śakti-Ganapati referred to in the *Śilparatna* stanza quoted above, it may be pointed out that the images of the god usually bear two, four, six or eight arms, though Heramba-Gaṇapati, who rides on a lion, has five ele-

8 See also J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., pp. 34-35. The deity is called Aiṅginī in the inscription on its *pīṭhikā* or pedestal which, as scholars have pointed out, did not belong to it originally. The Bherāghāṭ image is three-eyed, seated on a lotus-leaf and is represented as supported by an elephant-headed male figure with his left hand. See Getty *Gaṇeśa*, p. 30, Plate 40 ; Banerji, *MASI*, No. 23, p. 85.

9 Cf. the following images of Gaṇeśa's Śakti : (1) Suhania (Madhya Pradesh) image of about the 10th century, now in the Gwalior Museum—four-armed, with lotus (upper right), dagger (upper left), *paraśu* (lower right) and bowl of sweets (lower left) ; see B. N. Sharma, *Oriental Art*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 169, fig. 2 ; (2) Hirapur (Orissa) image of about the 10th century —standing on a mouse and wearing *jaṭā-mukuṭa* with arms lost ; see K. N. Mahapatra, *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 28ff. ; (3) Giriyek (Bihar) image of about the 11th century now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta —seated, cross-legend, on a lotus seat, with matted locks and four hands holding vase, battle-axe, staff and conch-shell ; see R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 117 ; and (4) Sikar (Jaipur, Rajasthan) image referred to by B. N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

10 *Pañcopāsanā* (Bengali), 1960, p. 24.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 2 .

phant heads and ten arms.[12] In the present case, the ten arms consist of half the number of arms of both the god and the goddess, probably five of the former and another five of the latter. The conception may have been influenced by that of the number of Heramba-Gaṇapati's arms.

Dr. D. R. Das drew my attention to a terracotta plaque representing a standing female with elephant's head discovered in the excavations at Rairh (Jaipur, Rajasthan) and assigned to the 1st century B. C. or the 1st century A. D.[13] This early image probably suggests the popularity of elephant-headed deities among the Nonaryans and their later adoption in the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. The elephant-headed god seems to have been accepted in the Brāhmaṇical pantheon not much earlier them the fourth century A. D.

9. *Post-Śaśāṅka Gold Coins from Eastern Bengal*

Sometimes ago, I received, for examination, photographs of a number of antiquities from Sri K.P. Dutta, Deputy Director of Education, Tripura State, Agartala. These included the photographs of four gold coins, which are of the 'Gupta Imitation' type. It is well known that similar coins have been found from the Bogra District of North Bengal and from the Jessore, Faridpur, Dacca and Tippera Districts of East Bengal. These are regarded as ancient imitations of Gupta gold coins, which have often a barbarous look, though some of them are better manufactured. Of the four coins in our list, three (Nos. 2-4) are debased and have a barbarous appearance.

Three gold coins of the said type, preserved in the British Museum, London, are noticed in J. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty and of Śaśāṅka King of Gauḍa*, 1914, p. 154, Nos. 620-22, Plate XXIV, Nos. 17-19. Altogether seventeen coins of this type were noticed by N. K. Bhattasali

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

13 K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 29, Plate XIV, Fig. 1.

in the *Numismatic Supplement* of the *JASB*, 1923, pp. 57-64. A. S. Altekar's *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957, pp. 333-37, Nos. 1-4, Plate XIX-B. 1-4 (cf. p. 333), mentions two such coins in the Cabinet of the University of Patna.

In his discussion on these coins, Allan says, "The obverses are copied from the usual Gupta Archer Type ; but the standard has a horse's head instead of Garuḍa ; there is a horse behind the king on one variety, which also has an inscription *Śrī*. The reverse type is a goddess standing to right ; she appears to wear a robe that flows behind her ; but this may be exaggeration of the fillet held by the seated Lakṣmī ; in front of her is what looks like a legend, but can only be a barbarous copy of the Gupta legend. There seems to be no exact prototype for this reverse in the Gupta coinage. These coins are connected by weight and by the border of large dots with the coins of Śaśāṅka······and must be dated about the middle of the seventh century A.D."[14] Allan also refers to the following coins of the same class : (1) one published by Wilson in the *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XVIII. 20; (2) one found at Muhammadpur in the Jessore District, along with the coins of Śaśāṅka and Samācāradeva, and illustrated in *JASB*, 1852, p. 401, Plate XII. 10 ; (3) two (one from a place near Dacca and the other from Kotalipada in the Faridpur District) published by Stapleton in *JASB*, 1910, pp. 142-43, Plate XXII. 1-2 ; (4) three found in Kotalipada (one of them along with a coin of Skandagupta) noticed by Stapleton who observed that the imitation coins were current in Bengal later than the age of Skandagupta.[15] Allan concludes, "We have therefore considerable evidence that these are actual coins which circulated in Eastern Bengal, probably about the seventh century A. D."[16]

14 See *op. cit.*, pp. cvi–cvii.
15 *Op. cit.*, p. 153, note 1.
16 *Op. cit.*, p. cvii.

Altekar shares Bhattasali's opinion that Allan's view regarding the horse-standard on one of the British Museum coins is incorrect,[17] though it is difficult to be sure on this point. They also agree that the goddess on the reverse, who is sometimes two-armed but often six- or ten-armed, has been wrongly described by Allan.[18] Because there is the representation of a horse on one of the British Museum specimens and king Ādityasena (c.655-80 A.D.), king of Magadha belonging to the Later Gupta dynasty, is known to have performed a horse-sacrifice, Bhattasali believed that the gold coins of this type were issued by that king and his successors, the horse type by Ādityasena himself and the others by his successors who did not perform any *aśvamedha*.[19] Altekar, however, rightly rejects this theory when he says, "These coins are never discovered in Magadha, the home province of the Later Guptas ; they are all found in Eastern Bengal in the Districts of Bogra, Tippera, Dacca and Faridpur which were never included in the dominions of the Later Guptas."[20]

Altekar further observes, "The findspots of the coins as well as their association with those of Samācāradeva and Śaśāṅka in some finds show that the rulers who issued these rude pieces held sway in Eastern Bengal. They were very considerably influenced by Gupta numismatic traditions, but were not slavishly following them, as is shown by the eight-armed goddess on the reverse. In their weight and border of thick dots, they imitate the half-Śatamāna (sic) type of Śaśāṅka. We may therefore attribute them to some local rulers in East-

17 See Altekar, *op. cit.*, 333, note.

18 *Op. cit.*, pp. 57ff.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 62ff.

20 *Op. cit.*, p. 324. Altekar forgot to include Jessore in the list of Districts from which such coins have been reported. The so-called Later Guptas originally lived in Mālava (Eastern Malwa) ; but Ādityasena and his successors were ruling in Magadha.

ern Bengal, who ruled after the death of Śaśāṅka. To judge from the uniformity of type, these rulers may well have belonged to the same dynasty."[21] As we have seen, here Altekar follows Bhattasali who describes the goddess in some specimens as six-armed and eight-armed.[22]

The question now is which local ruling family of East Bengal could have issued the coins after the death of Śaśāṅka, i. e. about the middle and latter half of the seventh century. We have elsewhere discussed the political condition of East Bengal after Śaśāṅka's death and tried to show how the Khaḍgas of Vaṅga (about the Dacca-Faridpur region) and the Rātas of Samataṭa (Tippera-Noakhali region) were originally feudatories of the emperor of Gauḍa, how after the subjugation of the latter by Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman, both the dynasties began to rule semi-independently and how *Sāmanta* Lokanātha, who had been sent to Samataṭa by the Gauḍa monarch, had some success against the Rātas.[23]

It has also been suggested in the above context that, about the middle of the seventh century, the Khaḍga king Devakhaḍga ousted Rāta rule from Samataṭa which was then annexed to the Khaḍga kingdom. It appears that Devakhaḍga and his son and successor Rājarājabhaṭa ruled practically as independent rulers and it was during their rule that the gold coins of the type discussed above were issued. It seems to us, however, that the same type of coins continued to be issued during the rule of the successors of the Khaḍgas, i. e. the Devas of Devaparvata (apparently named after the Deva dynasty and situated on the southern end of the Mainamati hill near Comilla in the Tippera District), capital of Samataṭa.[24] As, however, we have suggested in another connection, it was

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 334-36.

22 *Op. cit.*, pp. 57ff.

23 *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 223ff.

24 *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 83ff.

the private moneyers, mostly goldsmiths, who were responsible for the actual issue of the coins usually with the permission of the ruling authority, but sometimes even without it.[25] Thus the same kind of moneyers appears to have issued the coins during the rule of the Khaḍgas and Devas of East Bengal, if not also of the Rātas.

Altekar wrongly ascribes Bhattasali's reading to S. K. Chakrabortty when he says that Chakrabortty read the letters *sudhanyā* on a British Museum specimen (No. 620) supposed to stand for a king named Sudhanyāditya who was believed to have performed the *aśvamedha* and to have been the founder of the dynasty of rulers who issued such coins.[26] He, however, rightly points out that the reading is doubtful.[27] Really it was Bhattasali who read the letters *Sudhanyā*[28] or *Sudhanyāditya*[29] and *Śrīkramā* (*Śrīkramāditya*)[30] on two coins in the Dacca Museum. There is a little inacuracy in the following statement of Altekar, "N. K. Bhattasali reads *Sudhanya* and *Sukrama* in two coins in the Dacca Museum; *Num. Sup.*, 1923, p. 58n. But as the coins are not illustrated, it is not possible to check the readings."[31] In the first place, 'p. 58n' is wrongly quoted. Secondly Bhattasali's readings are *Sudhanyā* (also *Sudhanyāditya*) and *Śrīkramā*. Moreover, Bhattasali reads *Sudhanyāditya* and *Sudhanyā* also on the British Museum coins Nos. 620 and 621 illustrated by Allan.

Although the above readings may be regarded as doubtful, the letters *Śrī-Pṛthuvīra* have been read by Altekar on one of

25 *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 101ff., 208.

26 *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, p. 408; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

27 Altekar, *loc. cit.*

28 *Op. cit.*, pp. 58ff., Nos. 4, 14-15.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 60, No. 19.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59, No. 5.

31 *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

the specimens (No. 4) with confidence. The reading of the legend, however, seems to us to be *Pṛthuva(ba)la* which looks like an epithet or title. Thus *Pṛthubala*, and also *Sudhanyā-[ditya]* and *Śrī-Kramā[ditya]* if the readings of the latter names are accepted, may be the titles of some of the Khadga and Deva rulers of East Bengal who flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. It has to be admitted that no such titles are as yet known to have been assumed by the known kings of the Khadga and Deva dynasties. We know, however, that the Deva king Bhavadeva assumed the title *Abhinavamṛgāṅka* which is found on the seal attached to his charters, so that the assumption of titles like *Pṛthubala* by some of the other kings is within the bounds of possibility.[32]

A gold coin of the imitation Gupta type was discovered in the course of excavations at Mainamati near Comilla in East Pakistan along with the following coins —(1) an Archer type gold coin of Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.) ; (2) another gold coin of the same type, but bearing the legend read as *Bangala Mriganka* and translated as 'deer-stamp of Bangala' ; (3) 52 silver coins (in 3 demominations) of 'the Bull and Triratna' type ; (4) 172 silver coins of the highest denomination of the same type, the majority of which are said to bear the legend *Patikera*, with *Lalitakarah* on 3 and *Dharmavijaya* on 2 ; and (5) more than a dozen silver coins bearing the legend *Patikera*. The gold coin has been assigned to the Deva dynasty because it is said that the legend *Bangala Mriganka* is also found in the legend on the seal attached to king Bhavadeva's plate discovered at the Salban Vihar site on the Mainamati hill.[33] However, the legend on the seal has been actually read as *Sri Bhangala Mrigankasya*, and it may be

32 See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, Plate facing p. 94.

33 F. A. Khan, *Further Excavation in East Pakistan : Mainamati*, pp. 26-27.

mentioned that the seal attached to Bhavadeva's Tripura plate[34] reads *S'rī-Abhinavamṛgāṅkasya* which was apparently the reading of the legend of the seal attached to the Salban Vihar plate and probably also of the gold coin referred to above. It is possible that what have been read as *Lalitakaraḥ*, *Dharmavijaya* and *Patikera*[35] are also titles or second names like *Abhinavamṛgāṅka*.

The four gold coins may be described as follows : (1) from Champamura (Tripura)—5·7 gms., 21 mms. ; (2) from Pilak (Tripura)—4·65 gms., 17 mms. ; (3)······—5·67 gms., 19 mms. ; and (4)······—5·6 gms., 19 mms.

10. *A Copper-plate Grant of the Tripura Kings.*

The photographs received by me for examination, from Sri K. P. Dutta, Deputy Director of Education, Tripura State, included one of an interesting document. This is a thin copper-plate grant bearing writing on the obverse only and composed in Sanskrit in eight stanzas with a few small passages in prose. The writing, which is late medieval Bengali-Assamese, begins with *Śrī-Durgā* at the left corner and the engraving of four seals above the right half of the writing. The style of the composition is poor. Often we have repetition of the same or similar expressions. Thus the adjective *dhanya* is applied to Kalyāṇadeva in line 3 and to Govindadeva in line 7, while the word *tuṣṭyai* occurs in lines 3 and 12 with *tuṣṭy-artham* in line 14. Likewise, the epithet *dānta* is applied to no less than three kings—to Govindadeva in line 5, to Kalyāṇadeva in line 7 and to Ratnadeva (II) in line 13.

The inscription records the grant of Aulāyisāra in Meherakula by the Vaiṣṇava king Kalyāṇa of Tripura (lines 2-3) in

34 *Journ. As. Soc., loc. cit.*

35 This reminds us of the old city of *Paṭṭikera* (sometimes the capital of a kingdom of that name) near the Mainamati hill. The city may have been named after a king.

favour of the Brāhmaṇa Rāmanārāyaṇa. The gift village was bounded in the north by Lāmacarthā, in the south by Kādipāḍā, in the east by Kāṣṭhāli and Taledaḍā, and in the west by Śāmatalā. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon of Vaiśākha (*rādha*). The king also granted to the same donee 20 *droṇas* of land in another village called Deśāvaska (lines 6-7) in the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *vidhu-vasu-śara-bhū* (i.e. 1581) for the pleasure of the god Murāri (Viṣṇu). Both the grants were renewed by the king's son and successor, king Govinda (lines 4, 7-8) and again by the latter's son king Rāma (lines 5-6, 8-9) in favour of the same donee. In line 11, the Śaka date is repeated in figures and the donee's name is also repeated. The lunar eclipse on the Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā in Śaka 1581 occurred on Tuesday, the 26th April, 1659 A.D. Two benedictory and minatory stanzas occur in lines 9-11.

Lines 12-14 state that the Vaiṣṇava king Ratna (II) renewed the grant made by his ancestors, Kalyāṇa and others, for the pleasure of the god Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu), in the Śaka year expressed in the chronogram *aga-abhra-aṅga-candra* (i.e. 1607), given separately in figures as Śaka 1607, in favour of the two sons of Rāmanārāyaṇa, viz. Jayarāma and Viśvanātha.

The interest of the record, issued during the reign of Ratna II, lies in the fact that it records a grant of land originally made by king Kalyāṇamāṇikya of Tripurā in the Śaka year 1581 (1669-70 A.D.) shortly before his death which took place during the same year, and that it was consecutively renewed by his son Govindamāṇikya, his grandson Rāmamāṇikya and his great-grandson Ratnamāṇikya II. The date of the renewal by the last king, viz. Śaka 1607 (1685-86 A.D.), which was the year of his accession, may suggest that old grants made by the earlier rulers had to be renewed by the new king at the time of or shortly after accession.

The epigraph has an unorthodox beginning. It was expected

to have begun with a *maṅgala* stanza, but actually begins with the boundaries of the gift village, which are expected about the end. It may be supposed that the continuation of the writing on the plate is engraved at the beginning of the record according to a custom noticed in some late medieval documents of other parts of India. But this does not appear to be the case. As already indicated above, the first verse of the document mentions the names of villages lying on the north, south, east and west of the gift village of Aulāyisāra.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 5-6 *Upajāti* ; verses 2-4, 7 *Sragdharā* ; verse 8 *Anuṣṭubh.*]

Śrī-Durgā (//*)[36]

1 Yad-uttarasyāṁ diśi Lāmacarthā yad-dakṣiṇasyāṁ diśi Kādipāḍā / yat-pūrve Kāṣṭhāli(lī) Taleḍaḍā ca yat-paścime Śāma-

2 talā samasthāt // (1*) Prādād = Aulāyisāraṁ Tripura-narapatir = vīra-Kalyāṇadevo grāmaṁ Meherakulasya Hari-pada-manā rā-

3 dha-candra-grahe taṁ(tam) / bhog-ārthaṁ tat-sut-ādeḥ kṣitisura-maṇaye Rāmanārāyaṇāya dhanyaḥ protsṛjya tuṣṭyai vidhu-vasu-

4 śara-bhū-yukta-śāke Murāreḥ // (2*) Tāta-prattaṁ dadau taṁ tad-anu narapatir = dhīra-Govindadevas – tat-paścā(d*) = bhūmi-

5 pālo dharaṇipati-varo dānta-kānto vadānyaḥ—/ śrī-śrīmad-Rāmadevaḥ sa-giri-vana-mahī-mauli-

6 māṇikya-śobhī grāmaṁ taṁ pūrva-dattaṁ pitṛ-caraṇa-rato dhārmmiko = 'dāc = ca tasmmai //o// (3*) Prādāt = tasmai suśīlo dvija-

7 caraṇa-rato dānta-Kalyāṇadevo Daiśāvaskīṁ sucetāḥ

36 At the left corner of the plate.

suvimala-mataye viṁśati-droṇa-bhūmiṁ(mim) — / dhanyo Go

8 vindadevaḥ punar=api ca dadau Rāmanārāyaṇāya tāṁ śrī-śrī-Rāmadeva-nṛpatir=anudade Viṣṇu-bhakto hi ta-

9 smai—//o// (4*) Sva-gotra-jātaḥ para-gotra-jo vā mad-datta-bhūmer=yadi nāśa-karttā / bhavet sa ghore narake nimagno

10 bhaviṣyati svaiḥ puruṣaiḥ samañ=ca—//(5*) Maddatta-bhūmiṁ yadi bhūpa-siṁhā rakṣanti kecid=Dhari-pāda-cittāḥ / puṭ-añjali-

11 s=tān praṇamāmi nityaṁ madīya-pūrvaiḥ puruṣaiḥ samañ=ca—// (6*) Śak-āvdāḥ(bdāḥ) // 1501 // Śrī-Rāmanārāyaṇāya /

12 Dattā yā pūrva-jaiḥ svair=Hari-caraṇa-paraiḥ grāma-bhūmī Murāres=tuṣṭyai Kalyāṇadev-ādibhir=akhila-guro Rāmanārā-

13 yaṇāya / prādāt śrī-Ratnadevo nṛpakula-tilako Viṣṇu-vinyasta-cetāḥ śānto dāntaḥ suśīlas=Tripura-narapatis=tat-sutā-

14 bhyāṁ punas=tām // (7*) Jayarāmāya viprāya Viśva-nāthāya c=ādadat (/ *) tuṣṭy-arthaṁ Cakrapāṇes=tu Śāke='g-ābhr-āṅga-candrake // (8*) Śaka 1607 (//*)

11. Mirashi's 'Numismatic Notes'

I am indeed very sorry and also amused at the same time to read Mahāmahopādhyāy Prof. Dr. V. V. Mirashi's article entitled 'Numismatic Notes' appearing in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXII, 1970, Part I, pp. 65-76. The article begins with the following sentences: "During the last thirty years, D. C. Sircar has been indulging in rancourous attacks on my readings and interpretations of inscriptions and coins in and out of season. Many of my friends have inquired of me the cause of it. I told them that I

do not know any. So far as I know, I have not given him any offence. Perhaps it is a case of *Svabhāvo duratikramaḥ.*"

It is the common experience of workers in the field of Indological research that, in discussing various problems in their books and articles, they have to examine the opinions held by other scholars and have often to comment on theories, appearing to them erroneous, in establishing their own points of view. It seems that, if one is not inclined to disagree with anybody's views, he can hardly do any research work worth the name. During the last 40 years, I have published, besides a number of books written or edited by myself, more than one thousand articles, notes, reviews, etc., in which I have had occasions to comment on hundreds of views held by other scholars and in some cases also by my own self. I did it in the spirit of healthy controversy in a search for truth and to contribute to the best of my ability to the raising of the standard of research in Indological subjects in our country. That there is no question of personal bias or jealousy or enmity behind my comments on others' views will, I hope, be clear from several indications.

As a matter of fact, I practically began my research career with comments on the views of my own teachers for whom I have the highest regards. See my criticism of H. C. Raychaudhuri's opinion regarding the name of the last great Śātavāhana king, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* July, 1934, pp. 560 f., and of D. R. Bhandarkar's theory about the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by petty chiefs, in the *Indian Culture,* Vol. I, October, 1934, pp. 311ff. Later also I had occasion to comment on or reject the views of both of them. See, e.g., my comments on Bhandarkar's location of the Bāhlika country in the Punjab (*P. V. Kane Presentation Vol.*, 1941, pp. 469 ff.) and my improvement upon Raychaudhuri's views on the location of the Kokāmukha-tīrtha (*Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXI,

1945, pp. 56 ff. ; cf. Raychaudhuri's comments on my earlier opinion in *B. C. Law Vol.*, Part I, 1945, pp. 88 ff.).

Likewise there have been controversies between myself and my own pupils. One typical instance of this is Sri R.K. Ghoshal's scathing criticism of some of my views regarding the Rakshaskhali (Sundarban) plate of Śaka 1118 in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 119 ff., to which I offered a fitting reply in the same periodical, Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff. I may point out that it was really the continuation of a controversy between my teacher Dr. B. C. Sen (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1934), and myself (*Indian Culture*, April, 1935), so that it covered no less than three generations, viz. my teacher, myself and my pupil. Others who happened to offer their opinion on the subject of the controversy included the late Sri J. C. Ghosh, Sri N. N. Dasgupta and Dr. B. M. Barua, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar (cf. *Indian Culture*, July, 1936, pp. 138-39, pp. 151ff. and p. 153, note ; *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 222 and note).

Secondly, I have had the largest number of controversies with Dr. R. C. Majumdar, for whom I have very high regards not only because he was the teacher of several of my teachers, but also because he is one of the very few front-rank living Indologists of the world. I have no doubt that Dr. Majumdar has taken our controversies in a genuine truth-finder's spirit and has never doubted my respectful devotion to him. Indeed, the dedication of my *Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1967, bears the words : "Dedicated to Dr. R. C. Majumdar out of the author's gratitude for his appreciation and encouragement and in remembrance of interesting controversies."

The third point to be noted in this connection is that one comments on others' views only when one attaches importance to both the persons and the views. The great prestige enjoyed by Dr. Majumdar in the field of Indological studies convinces

me that, whatever may be his conclusions in a particular discussion, younger scholars would accept them without question. The seeker of historical truth in me therefore urges me to comment on what I may consider wrong among his opinions in order to show another side of the problem with the hope that, although I may be insignificant compared to the great Dr. Majumdar, some scholars might carefully consider both the views and form their own opinion. The same is the urge behind my controversies with Dr. Mirashi. It is really strange that he does not realise a very plain fact. If I would not attach any importance to himself and his writings, why should I be inclined to offer my comments ? Certainly I regard Dr. Mirashi as one of our front-rank Indologists.

Fourthly, the allegation that the language of my comments on Dr. Mirashi's views indicates 'rancourous attacks' seems to be absolutely unwarranted. They have appeared in various journals, and their editors would have scarcely published them if they considered the language and trend of the comments unbecoming in any way.

Lastly, I may mention that often I have published comments on my views by various authors, including Dr. Mirashi himself, in periodicals edited by me ; see, e.g., *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII (1959-1960), pp. 251 ff. ; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. III (1969-70), pp. 101 ff. ; 113 ff. ; etc.

That I have never had any personal dislike for Dr. Mirashi will be clear to any reader of the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, in which I have bestowed high praise on one of Dr. Mirashi's recently published books. It is the *Kālidāsa* by Mirashi and Navalekar, Bombay, 1969. I also mentioned Dr. Mirashi's name amongst the few authors who contributed the largest number of articles to the *Epigraphia Indica* in the Preface (written on 23.12.59) to A. N. Lahiri's Index to the said periodical, Vols. I-XXXIV, quoting the number of his papers then as 51.

It may also be noted that, in my paper entitled 'Deterioration of Indian Historical Scholarship' appearing in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, 1963-64, Nos. 1-2, pp. 20-23, I have mentioned Dr. Mirashi's *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, 1955) in a short list of the most important Indological works produced by Indian authors during the past one century. This would show that I do not have any personal animosity against Dr. Mirashi.

In my long career as an Indologist, just as I have criticised others' theories, other research workers, including Dr. Mirashi, have also commented on my views. I have, however, always taken such comments with grace and have tried to find out whether they lead us nearer to the truth. I fully accept the Indian adage : *vāde vāde jāyate tattva-bodhaḥ*.

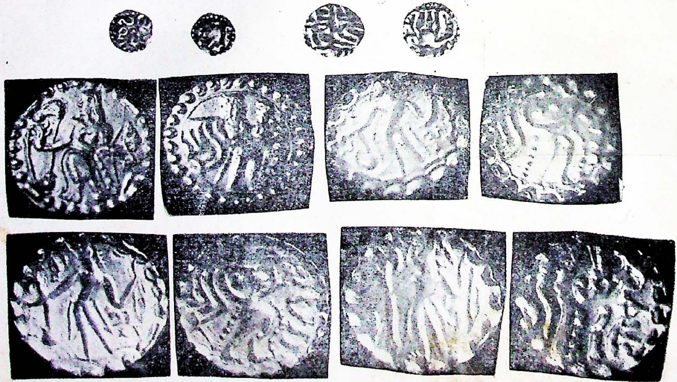
I have had controversies with many scholars both in India and outside. Sometimes they have certainly helped the readers to form their own opinion on particular problems. In many cases, they have drawn the opinions of other scholars ; e.g., my controversy with G. Coedes on the date of the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Campā drew the participation of E. Gaspardone who supported my opinion and K. K. Sarkar who wrote in support of Coedes. My controversies with Dr. Mirashi have also naturally not gone unnoticed by scholars ; cf., e. g., T. R. Trautmann's observations on my comment on Dr. Mirashi's views about the Dhulev plate of Bhetti, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 29, 1966, p. 309.

However, now in my old age, a feeling has come upon me that, after all, I have probably failed to raise the standard of our Indological research which was the aim of my controversies. That is why of late I am rather tired of controversies and am not inclined to reply even when the points raised by my critics appear to me wrong. As for instance, in a recent note appearing in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*

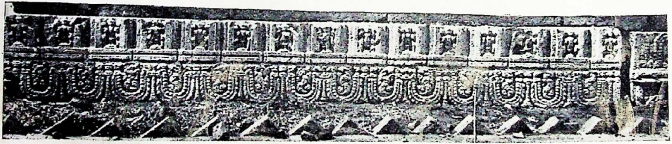
(XVII, No. 2, December, 1967, p. 160), Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, while disagreeing with my views about the Kathika kings of the Devnimori inscriptions, suggested that 'Kathika' is associated with 'Kathiawar'. I kept silent even though 'Kathiawar' is really 'Kāṭhiyāvāḍ' (not 'Kāthiyāvād' as Dr. Mukherjee thinks), written with *ṭh* and not *th*, and neither the Kāṭhis nor their land (Kāṭhiyāvāḍ) can be traced in any early source, and this seems to me to make it difficult to accept Dr. Mukherjee's suggestion. Again, Dr. K. K. Dasgupta recently wrote something against my comments in defence of his views in the pages of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Vol. XXIX, Part II, 1967, pp. 79-80). I did not reply even though I could not trace any substance in Dr. Dasgupta's views. Similarly, I do not attach much importance to some of the things Dr. Mirashi says in the 'Numismatic Notes' in defence of his views criticised by me. However, I am not inclined to reply to the points which he says he has repeatedly asserted. If the reader so desires, he may come to his own conclusions in respect of the topics of controversy by a comparative study of the published views of Dr. Mirashi and myself.

I do not agree with Dr. Mirashi that I have ever tried to show him up or that it was ever my intention to imply that whatever he says is wrong and whatever I say is right.[37] That would indeed have been quite foolish on my part. As indicated above, I have often commented even on my own earlier views (cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81-84 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 209, note 3). However, if such an unfortunate impression has been created by my comments on Dr. Mirashi's mind, I sincerely apologise to him.

37 I do not understand why he has ignored the cases in which I have accepted his opinions, e. g., his location of Rāmagiri and Mānapura.



1. Cola Farams (pp. 166-68). Enlarged. [Wrongly placed upside down.]
2. Gupta Imitation type Gold Coins from Tripura State (pp. 186-92). Enlarged.



1. Udara-mukha in the Bhojpur Temple (pp. 201-02).
2. Dvādaśāditya Panel at Tribeni (pp. 226ff.)

THE UDARA-MUKHA MOTIF IN INDIAN ART

RAMESH KUMAR BILLOREY

The *Udara-mukha* or face-on-belly motif occurs in Indian art as early as the second century A.D. as it is found on a well-known Amarāvatī relief (now in the Musée Guimet, Paris) depicting the Buddhist legend of the assault of Māra.[1] In the said relief, one of the associates of Māra is shown with a face on his belly. The motif, which gained currency in later Indian art, added an interesting feature to the iconography of the Gaṇa figures. R. D. Banerji[2] illustrated and described panels from the Bhumara temple (sixth century A.D.) depicting Gaṇa figures, some of which have *rākṣasa* faces[3] carved on their bellies. He also referred to similar figures of Gaṇas, with heads of demons on their bellies, discovered in the temple of Varāha at Kohala[4] in the former Indore State (now in M.P.). In a bas-relief in Cave No. 1 at Bādāmi, a dancing Gaṇa figure with the same iconographic feature has been noticed.[5]

An interesting illustration of the *Udara-mukha* motif is provided by an image noticed in the temple of Bhojeśvara Śiva at Bhojpur,[6] a village about 15 kms. from Bhopal (M.P.). The

1 R. Grousset, *India*, in *The Civilizations of the East*, Vol. II, London, 1932, fig. 28.

2 *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara (Mem. ASI*, No. 16), pp. 9 -10 ; Pls. IX B, X C.

3 Such *rākṣasa* faces are also found in the Durgā temple at Aihole, in Cave III at Auraṅgābād and at Prambanam in Java. See Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, p. 79, note 1.

4 *Mem. ASI*, No. 16, p. 9 ; *ASI, A.R., Western Circle*, 1920, pp. 83-84.

5 R. D. Banerji, *Bas-reliefs of Bādāmi* (*Mem. ASI*, No. 25), Pl. IV e.

6 See *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963-64, p. 89 : also Curt Maury, *Folk Origins of Indian Art*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1969, p. 17. The Bhojpur temple is said to have been built by Paramāra Bhoja of Malwa (P. Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 248,338).

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squatting figure has four arms, the lower ones partly broken, and wears various ornaments. Another significant feature of the image is what appears to be a stem of a plant issuing out of the demon's mouth represented on his belly, bearing close resemblance to the *Kirtimukha* motif. The representations of dwarfish Gaṇa figures with four arms, wearing similar ornaments and having faces of various animals and birds or bellies bearing animal-mouth, are well known in Indian texts and art.[7] One of the Gaṇa figures in the Mamallapuram relief (seventh century), representing Arjuna's penance, has a conventional lion's head depicted across his belly.[8] We have referred above to some Gaṇa figures with *rākṣasa* faces on their bellies. It is therefore probable that the Bhojpur image represents a Gaṇa figure. In this connection, reference may be made to another image from the Mahākāleśvara temple[9] at Bagh, M. P., with exactly the same iconographic feature as noticed in the Bhojpur image, though its execution is comparatively crude.

Attention may also be drawn to a Gaṇa figure with a *rākṣasa* face on his belly on the lower section of the panel, representing Śiva and Pārvatī on Mt. Kailāsa, in the Kumbheśvara temple at Pāṭan in Nepāl.[10]

The *Udara-mukha* motif appears to carry the imprint of primitive imagery. It is not peculiar to Indian art, but also occurs in African, Chinese and Mexican art.[11] A study of the origin, evolution and diffusion of this motif in the context of world art may reveal how and to what extent it was influenced by beliefs and practices of the primitive peoples.

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7 Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, 2nd ed., pp. 154, 335, 350-51 ; Pls. XXXI, XCIX ; J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., pp. 356, 36?, 483, 535, Pl. XXXII.

8 *Marg*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, p. 48, fig. 9.

9 Curt Maury, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

10 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 100, Pl. LV.

11 *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, Vol. X, Pls. 19, 33 ; J. Pijoan, *History of Art*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., fig. 876.

CIVIC SENSE IN ANCIENT INDIA

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

The Indians of old recognised the importance of the purity of drinking water. In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*,[1] we find the Buddha rebuking a brother for drinking water without straining it; and in the *Cullavagga*,[2] we have rules for filtering water. The *Arthaśāstra* directs the superintendent of the city to make a daily inspection of reservoirs of water.[3] The *Mahābhārata*[4] strictly ordains that none should pollute water and answer a call of nature in water.

The ancient Indians also exhibited their developed civic sense in the maintenance of cleanliness of roads and other public places. No one was allowed to drop filth on the roads, and punishments are prescribed in the Smṛtis as well as in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* for throwing dirt and committing nuisance at wrong places. Manu prescribes a fine of two *Kārṣāpaṇas* for dropping filth on the highway and also ordains that the person concerned should be asked to physically remove the dirt.[5] But if the dirt was thrown by a person out of urgent necessity or by an old man or a pregnant woman or a child, he or she should only be reprimanded and made to clean the place.[6] It should be noted that in both the cases, removal of the dirt or filth by the

1 No. 31 (*Jātaka Stories*, ed. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 76ff.).

2 V. 13.

3 Trans. Shama Sastry, 8th ed., p. 167; for the text, see *Arthaśāstra*, Pandit Press, p. 261.

4 XIII. 104. 54: *ubhe mutra-purīṣe tu n=āpsu kuryāt kadācana.*

5. IX. 282:

samutsṛjed=rāja-mārge yas=tv=amedhyam=anāpadi /

sa dvau kārṣāpaṇau dadyād=amedhyañ=c=āśu śodhayet //

6 IX. 283.

guilty person was insisted upon. In the *Viṣṇusmṛti*,[7] we are told that a man should be fined 100 *Paṇas* if he defiles the highway or a garden or the water near them by voiding excrements. And, like the *Manusmṛti*, it also ordains that the guilty person should himself remove the filth.[8] The *Mahābhārata* also asks the people not to answer the call of nature in the agricultural fields and near the villages.[9]

The *Arthaśāstra*[10] throws more light on the question of the throwing of dirt in the streets. It prescribes a lesser punishment for the guilty person. The fine here is $\frac{1}{8}$ *Paṇa* only.* It adds, however, that if a person (obviously a householder) causes mire or water to collect in the street, he should be fined $\frac{1}{4}$ *Paṇa* and whoever commits the above offences on the highway (*rājamārga*) shall be punished with double the said fines. For throwing carcasses of animals and reptiles such as a cat, dog, mongoose and snake, a person was fined 3 *Paṇas*; if he threw carcasses of big animals such as a camel or mule or cattle, he was fined 6 *Paṇas*; and for throwing human corpses on the road a fine of 50 *Paṇas* was imposed upon the guilty person (*manuṣya-pretānāṁ pañcāśat paṇāḥ*).[11] When a dead body is taken out of a city through a gate other than the usual or prescribed one or through a path other than the prescribed way, the first amercement (*pūrva-sāhasa-daṇḍa*)[12] was imposed and the guards were fined 200 *Paṇas*. And if the dead was interred or cremated beyond the burial or cremation grounds, a fine of 12 *Paṇas* was imposed.[13]

7 V. 106.

8 V. 109.

9 XIII. 104. 54.

10 Shama Sastry, *op. cit.*, pp. 165ff

* [Kauṭilya's *Paṇa* seems to have been a silver coin, while the *Paṇa* of Manu and others was of copper.—Ed.]

11 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 259.

12 *Loc. cit.*

13 *Loc. cit.*

The *Viṣṇusmṛti*[14] prescribes various punishments for the feller of trees. Such punishments were imposed not merely out of the desire to extract money from the subjects, but also because of the consciousness on the part of the authorities about the value and usefulness of such trees. It is needless to say that there is no greater friend for a weary and hungry traveller than a fruit-bearing tree. Manu[15] also prescribes punishment for injuring trees.

Negligent driving was discouraged, and punishments are prescribed in the *Manusmṛti* for careless drivers.[16] A skilful chariot driver had to pay a fine of 200 *Paṇas* for causing an accident. And if a man was killed for his fault, he had to face punishment meant for a thief, and half of that if a big animal (such as a cow or horse) was killed. If the driver was unskilful, the occupants of the carriage were to be fined 100 *Paṇas*. This shows that it was considered a crime to engage untrained drivers. Various other punishments are prescribed for causing the death of smaller animals by negligent driving in the *Manusmṛti*.[17]

Another aspect of the question of civic sense relates to the building of houses in those days. The *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*[18] says that, near newly built houses and other constructions, there should be a passage 3 feet broad. Kauṭilya prescribes that, for each house a sloping water-course should be made at a distance of 3 *pādas* from the neighbouring site, so that water should either flow from it in a continuous line or fall from it into the drain.[19] Violation of this rule was punished with a fine of 54 *Paṇas*. Between any two houses or between

14 V. 55-57.
15 VIII. 285.
16 VIII. 293ff.
17 *Loc. cit.*
18 XVI. 12.
19 Shama Sastry, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

the extended portions of any two houses, the intervening space, according to Kauṭilya, should be 4 *pādas*. The Munich manuscript of the *Arthaśāstra*[20] adds that, if a neighbouring house is obstructed, the window in the upper story should be closed. This indicates sensitiveness about the difficulties of the immediate neighbours. Kauṭilya repeatedly says that, in no case, householders should cause trouble to their neighbours.[21]

A Jātaka[22] describes how the Bodhisattva, born in a village, indulged, along with 30 of his co-villagers, in such welfare activities as rolling out of the way all stones that lay on four highways and other roads of the village, and cutting down the trees that struck against the axles of chariots. They also made rough places smooth and built causeways, dug tanks and built a hall for the use of all the villagers.

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20 *Loc. cit.*

21 For further details, see *ibid.*, pp. 191ff.

22 See Cowell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 76ff.

SPOTTED-ANIMAL MOTIF AND INDIAN PREHISTORIC POTTERY

ANIL KUMAR PAL

We may say, at the very beginning, by way of a general observation, that the spotted-animal motif is very scarce as a decorative art on pottery. Keeping this in mind we may try to determine whether their occurrence in Indian prehistoric pottery can be said to hold any special significance.

The spotted-animal motif was established in the Middle East as a cult symbol even in the neolithic times (*circa* 5880 B.C.) at Catal Hüyük.[1] Here the spotted animal appears probably for the first time in a relief work on the North and East wall (in period VIA) of what the excavator described as a shrine.[2] On another object from this site, the spots are represented in the form of a trefoil motif.[3] In our sub-continent, this motif appears in a much later chronological horizon at Navdatoli, Gilund and Nagda in Central India (Figs. 9-10) and at Prakash, Bahal and Diamabad in Maharashtra. Whether the motif travelled from the West to the East or is purely local in origin has yet to be determined. One useful method may be to study its distribution in ancient sites lying (i) between Catal Hüyük and the border of the Indian sub-continent, and (ii) in the different areas of India.

The significance of the depiction of the spotted animal can

1 J. Mallaart, *Catal Hüyük : A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, London, 1967, p. 52.

2 *Ibid.*, Pl. 18.

3 It may be mentioned in this connection that similar trefoil decoration is found on the robe of the famous figure of the Harappan priest (cf. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. III, 1931, Pl. XCVIII).

be viewed from more than one point of view. From one side it may be no more than a naturalistic representation of some spotted animal, such as a deer, panther or leopard. And if the only object was a literal representation, there would be little or no point in attempting to find any significance underlying the motif. But from another point of view the spotted-animal motif appears as an artist's schema or convention which has only a slight connection with the literal representation of a spotted animal. Thus, for example, the common convention of depicting the deer or antelope is to paint the animal without spots and only on very rare occasions has the artist resorted to them. On the other hand, certain animals which are by nature without spots, such as the tortoise,[4] peacock[5] or scorpion,[6] have on occasions been shown with spots.* Therefore, the spotted infilling of the bodies of animals may be regarded rather as an artistic convention than a literal form of representation.

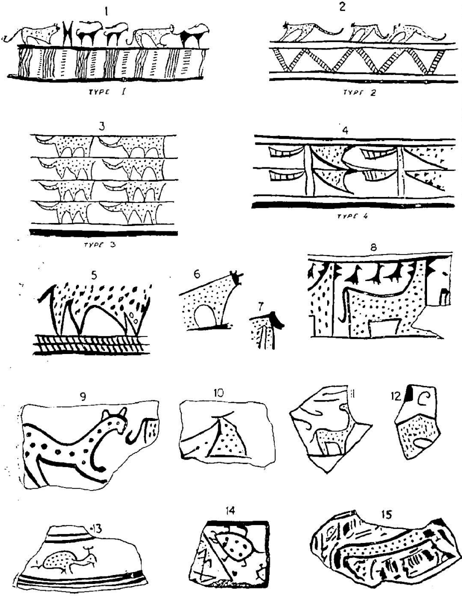
It is a topic which we cannot discuss here in detail, but which certainly deserves closer attention than it has hitherto received. It has to be noticed that these ancient artists' schema had a life and history of their own, independent of actual appearance of the animals they represented. A well-documented example is the sculptor's schema for a lion, passing from the ancient Middle East at least in Assyrian times *via* the Greeks and Romans to Western Europe on the one hand, and on the other, passing *via* the Achaemenids to the Mauryan and the later Indian sculptors, and even to the South-East Asian artist. The identity of the schema can be striking enough, even when it is not possible to demonstrate the actual medium

4 *Ancient India.* No. 3, 1947, p. 118, Fig. 24, No. II.

5 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, Pl. XXXV.

6 A. Parrot, *Telloh*, Paris, 1948, p. 39, Fig. 8.

* [There may be some justification in depicting them with globular signs. —Ed.]



Spotted-Animal Motif (pp. 207ff.)

in time and space through which the cultural contact may have taken place. As an example of what we mean, we may compare what is called the pouncing leopard on the pottery from Hissar Ic,[7] Namazga III,[8] etc., with the same motif at Navdatoli,[9] Bahal,[10] etc. In all these places the whole animal is outlined by two co-ordinated strokes and the enclosed area is filled with spots, while appendages such as ears and tails are shown by additional short strokes. The identity is even carried to the way in which the paws are depicted at the ends of the two principal strokes, while the spotted infilling is continued down between the lines of legs, and to the way in which the motif is used in panels, in most cases cordoned between the two band lines. We cannot at present explain this identity of motif at two sites so far apart, separated in time probably by many centuries, but the extent and frequency of its employment deserve comment and lead one to expect some sort of coherence and diffusion.

Apart from the early Anatolian temple paintings, spotted animals are found at a comparatively late date on the earliest wall paintings in Mesopotamia at Tell Uqair (late 4th and early 3rd millennium B. C.).[11] These two early wall paintings of spotted animals may probably be regarded as the ultimate source of the pottery design found in the Iran and Central Asian sites.

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7 E. F. Schmidt, *Excavation at Tepe Hissar, Damghan, 1931-33*, Philadelphia, Pl. VII. 3366.

8 V. M. Masson, 'Kara Tepe near Artyk', *Trudi Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoy Arkheologicheskoy Kompleksnoy Ekspeditsu* (Works of the South Turkestan Joint Archaeological Expedition), Vol. X, p. 356.

9 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, Pl. XXXVI B.

10 *Ibid.*, 1956-57, Pl. XX A. 5.

11 S. Lloyd and Fuad Safar, 'Tell Uquair: Excavation by the Iraq Government Directorate of Antiquities in 1940 and 1941', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. II, 1943, Pl. X and IX.

The spotted-animal motif as a pottery design appears for the first time in Arpachiyah in Northern Mesopotamia in the Halaf period.[12] This painted motif is one of the earliest at the site. The drawing shows a chain of animals coarsely outlined and with bodies filled with spots. The design is executed on the rim of the vase. Here we find straightforward, if somewhat crude, animal drawings which may be regarded as a simple attempt on the part of a somewhat inexpert artist to represent an animal. It is very difficult to understand what kind of animal he had in his mind.

The artistic use of the animal motif, probably as a panther-like animal, seems to have reached its climax in Iran and Central Asia. Within this area, it appeared for the first time at Hissar Ic, Namazga III[13] and Kara Tepe.[14] At Hissar Ic, there are at least four types of this motif (see Figs. 1-4). In all these types, the motif is painted on the rim of a cup with pedestal. In type I,[15] the entire figure of the animal from head to the long tail is drawn in profile. In type II,[16] a thick tail is executed as a variation from type I. In type III, the head of the animal disappears within the border line and a simple form is introduced. This type III is sometimes found all over the cup along the horizontal panels. Type IV follows from type III, but with only the bold outlines of tail and body drawn.[17]

Almost at the same period at Sialk III,[18] a specimen of spotted animal is found. This design has a close similarity

12 M. E. L. Mallowan and J.C. Rose, 'Excavations at Tell Arpachiyah, 1933', *Iraq*, Vol. II, Fig. 77, No. I.

13 V. M. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

14 V. M. Masson, 'Djeitun and Kara Tepe', *Sovietskaya Arkheologys*, Vol. I, 1957, p. 156.

15 E. F. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII. H. 3366.

16 *Ibid.*, Pl. VII. H. 4502.

17 *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII. H. 4479.

18 *Loc. cit.*

with the Hissar type No. III, as the creature extends fully up to the marginal line (see Fig. 3); its tail is executed by means of fringed lines and the paws are clear and prominent. Another specimen of the same period (viz. Sialk III) is available for our study.[19] The outline of this is drawn in bold line and four short oblique lines of paws are clear and distinct.

In Susa I[20] only a fragmentary portion of the head of the spotted animal is available for our study. The head is painted solid and its long gaping mouth is peculiar (see Fig. 7). At Giyan V,[21] a motif shows some similarity with the specimen from Susa and with Hissar type No. III as it expands fully within the borderline. The outline and the spots of this motif are comparatively thick and bold in character. This motif again appears at Mundigak[22] in Southern Afghanistan. Here some fragments of spotted animal are reported from period IV.[23] The long tail with a little curve at the end reminds us of the execution of this motif at Hissar Giyan and Sialk. The drawing of paws by means of short oblique strokes reminds us of the characteristic features of Namazga III and Kara Tepe. In place of the simple design of the body filled with dots, here for the first time we get different lines representing the different muscular limbs of the animal. This feature is unparalleled except on a few illustrated seals found at Mohenjodaro[24] where a similar division is maintained in case of spotted animals.

19 *Ibid.*, H. 4478.

20 E. Pottier, '*Etude historique et chronologique sur les vases peints de l'Acropole de Suse*', *France Memoires Delegation en Perse* XIII, 1912, p. 37, Fig. 1. 28.

21 G. Contenau and R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles du Tepe Giyan*, Paris, 1935, Pl. 57.5.

22 J. M. Casal, *Fouilles de Mundigak*, Vol. II, Paris, 1961, Fig. 63, Nos. 160-62.

23 *Loc. cit.*

24 E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavation at Mohenjodaro, 1937*, Vol. II, Pl. CIII, No. 6.

In the Indian sub-continent, the spotted-animal motif appears as a pottery design for the first time in the North-West and is found at Siah II,[25] Anjira[26] and Mohenjodaro.[27] At Anjira IV, a sherd shows the head of the animal with a narrow hatched band round the neck. The body is spotted and the protruding tongue is infilled with red. The excavator explained this motif as representing a feline or greyhound-like animal. Again at Siah II,[28] a sherd with the spotted-animal motif is found. Here the design shows the upturned tail of the animal which is so far unique in this context. If this feature is intended to be naturalistic, it might favour Beatrice de Cardi's suggestion[29] that the animal is feline or a greyhound. Another spotted-animal motif is found at Mohenjodaro. The explorer explained it as occurring in the late phase of the Harappan culture.[30]

With the exception of the above-mentioned sites in the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent, the spotted-animal motif has no parallel as a pottery design in the Indus Valley Civilisation. It is again found in a comparatively late period in the central and western parts of the sub-continent. Within this area, it is found at Gilund, Navdatoli, Prakash, Bahal and Daimabad. All the above-mentioned sites are in the general line, along which Western influences seem to have entered Peninsular India. Side by side with the spotted-animal motif, we find drawings of animal figures filled with small dashes or, in other words, slightly extended spots. Specimens

25 Beatrice De Cardi, 'Excavations and Reconnaissance in Kalat, West Pakistan—The Prehistoric Sequence in the Surab Region', *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 2, 1965, p. 156, Fig. 16, No. 15.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 164, Fig. 17, No. A6 and 19, No. 6.

27 Krishna Deva and D. E. McCown, 'Further Exploration in Sind: 1938', *Ancient India*, No. 5, 1949, Pl. VI, No. 70.

28 Beatrice De Cardi, *op. cit.*, p. 156, Fig. 16, No. 15.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

30 Krishna Deva and D. E. McCown, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI, No. 70.

of this type are found at Navdatoli[31] and Diamabad.[32] From the fragmentary specimens of spotted animals found at Gilund and Prakash (Fig. 11), it is very difficult to imagine what sort of animal was actually represented. Only the curvature of the body-line suggests the probability of the animal being a spotted deer or a leopard-like animal.[33]

In summing up, it can be said that the spotted-animal motif occurred in a very early context in Western Asia and probably reached India through Iran and Central Asia in a gradual process of expansion. The dates of first occurrence may well indicate the time scale involved as the period is gradually later as one proceeds eastwards until one reaches Central India. The even distribution of this motif along the north-western parts of the Indian sub-continent also favours the view that it entered the sub-continent from the West. It seems to have gained currency at Mundigak, Anjira and Namazga between 2500 and 2000 B. C. and to have reached Western India only after 1800 B. C. We believe that this motif, particularly in the shape of a leopard-like animal, may be considered rare in the sub-continent. Its striking similarity with the corresponding designs at Mesopotamian and Iranian sites also tempt us to imagine some sort of contact in the late Harappan chronological horizon.

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31 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, Pl. XXII B.

32 *Loc. cit.*

33 The chronological perspective in which it appears is not altogether clear. Its position at Gilund (cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*. 1959-60, Pl. XLIVA) is not clearly defined at present, and it can only be said that it corresponds to the chalcolithic period. On the other hand, it occurs at Diamabad in Period I, Phase I or II (cf. *ibid.*, 1958-59, Pl. XXIIB and XXIIIA 15) which is clearly earlier than the Jorwe culture. At Bahal (*ibid.*, 1956-57, pp. 17ff., Pl. XX A5; its presence in IB roughly corresponds to the Jorwe culture). Prakash IA (*Ancient India*, Nos. 20-21. Pl. XV, fig. 1) and Navdatoli (*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, Pl. XXB ; 1957-58, Pl. XXVIB ; no information is available on its appearance in the different subphases), it appears in the chalcolithic period and is found in association with the Malwa ware.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CANDRAGUPTA II

Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

The Buddhist inscription in Sanskrit written in late Brāhmī of the Southern Class and engraved near the eastern gateway of the Great *Stūpa* at Sanchi,[1] records the grant of a place called Īśvaravāsaka and a sum of twentyfive *dīnāras* to the Ārya-saṅgha by Amrakārdava or Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna at the great *Vihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa, i.e. Sanchi, with the intention of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The locality granted has been described as *Maja-Śarabhaṅg-Āmrarāta-rājakula-mūlya-krītam.*[2] It seems that in the letters after this expression and preceding Īśvaravāsaka which are now missing something more about the village was stated. J. F. Fleet equates *mūlya* of the expression, literally meaning 'an original sum', with *akṣaya-nīvī* of other inscriptions denoting 'a capital sum that is not to be wasted' and explains the expression as 'purchased with the endowment of Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta of the royal household'.[3] According to R. G. Basak, the gift land was purchased 'by a payment of the usual price as fixed in the *rājakula*.'[4] He, therefore, seems to regard *Rājakula* as an office, the duty of which included the fixation of the price of land and of which Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta were possibly incharge or at least members. D. C. Sircar, however, takes *Rājakula* as an official designation, and following Fleet's view that 'in the case

1 *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 29–34.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 31 ; text lines 5-6.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

4 *The History of North-Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 50.

of regal and official titles it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words',[5] he maintains the Sanskrit word while interpreting the expression to denote 'the locality called Īśvaravāsaka was purchased by Āmrakārdava from the *Rājakulas* Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta'.[6] Thus Fleet, Basak and Sircar, agree that the expression contains names of three persons, although one believes that the land was purchased with the endowment of these three, the second that they were attached to, members of or in charge of an office, called *Rājakula* and the third that they were officials known as *Rājakula* from whom the granted land was purchased.

Though the second word of the expression, viz. *Śarabhaṅga*, occurs as a personal name in literary texts including the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[7] the materials at our disposal, show that an alternative interpretation of the expression is also possible. It is frequently met with in the usual list of officers addressed by some North-Indian kings in connection with their grants of land.[8] The word being spelt differently in different records[9] led D.C. Sircar to presume a foreign origin of the same, and, as he has shown,[10] it is a Sanskritised form of Persian *Sarhang* which means 'a commander'.[11] Derived from *sar* (Sanskrit *śiras*), 'the head', and Old Persian *hanga* (Sanskrit *saṅgha*), 'a company', *Sarhang* has the sense of 'the head of a contingent of troops'. In the

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5 *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 33, note.

6 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 281, note.

7 Ramkumar Rai, *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa-Kośa*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 354-55.

8 See discussion on *Sarabhaṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga*, *Sarobhaṅga* and *Sarāṁgha* in our paper entitled 'Foreign Official Designations in Early Indian Records' published in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1970, pp. 167-68.

9 For references, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 96-97.

10 *Loc. cit.*

11 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

official epithet *Giligittā-saraṁgha*, meaning 'chief of the army at Gilgit', occurring in the Hatun (Gilgit) inscription[12] of the Sāhi king Paṭoladeva who flourished about the seventh century A.D. the word occurs in the form *saraṁgha*. Tentatively, *Saraṁgha* of the Hatun inscription has been explained as 'a military governor'.[13]

Thus, Sircar himself recognised *Śarabhaṅga* as an official designation as early as 1960,[14] although, as noticed above, he takes it as a personal name while explaining the expression in the inscription under consideration.

Śarabhaṅga being thus traced as the designation of an officer, the said passage may also be taken as not containing the names of three persons. In other words, two persons Maja and Āmrarāta who were *Śarabhaṅga* and *Rājakula* respectively are actually referred to here. As noted above, Fleet takes the word *rājakula* in the sense of 'royal household'. There is no doubt that the word has been used in the same sense at least as late as the seventh century A.D. It is evident from Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*[15] which gives a description of the royal household or palace and uses the word *rājakula*. But, since *Śarabhaṅga* may also denote an officer, it may not be unjustified to take *Rājakula* also in the sense of an official in which sense Sircar has actually taken it, as seen above.

The alternative interpretation, however, places the names Maja and Āmrarāta before the official designations *Śarabhaṅga* and *Rājakula* respectively. But, this does not seem unusual in view of the fact that such use of names before designations of officers is also noticed even in earlier epigraphic records, e.g. Khardaka *Kṣatrapa*, Liyaka *Kṣatrapa* and Lala *Daṇḍanāyaka*

12 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 228.
13 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 97 ; see also *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Serang*.
14 Sircar's note in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 96-97.
15 N. S. Press ed., 1937, p. 142.

mentioned respectively in the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions, Zeda[16] inscription of year 11 of Kaniṣka I,[17] and Manikiala inscription of year 18 of Kaniṣka I.[18] If *Śarabhaṅga* and *Rājakula* thus really stood for officials, then the inscription under consideration may well be regarded as the earliest epigraphic record, discovered so far, to use them as such.*

16 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 118.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

* [See below the proceedings of the Monthly Seminar held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC on 17.2.71.—Ed.]

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIA

Asko Parpola

Prof. D. C. Sircar kindly invited me here for a brief talk on Indological Studies in Scandinavia. I accepted the invitation in the hope that the following rough sketch will, in spite of its many imperfections, be helpful to our Indian friends interested in the matter. I must, however, make reservations for omissions and inaccuracies, for in preparing the talk in Calcutta I had to depend wholly on my memory. This also made the sketch not quite balanced, as I can tell you in greater details only about things which are more familiar to me. My emphasis is going to be on the present-day Indological research ; but I will try to indicate also the main lines of the earlier tradition.

The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, financed by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, and situated at Copenhagen, Denmark, was founded in 1967 to support, co-ordinate and stimulate Asiatic studies in these four Scandinavian countries. Its staff consists now of a director, six research fellows (carrying out their own individual studies besides taking part in the information and documentation activities of the Institute), three librarians, and three secretaries. Teachers' courses on various Asian subjects, scientific conferences and guest lectures are arranged by the Institute, and Scandinavian scholars are put in touch with one another and with foreign specialists. The Institute is publishing a Newsletter on its activities, the fourth number of which should have come out during these days. Modern Asia is more in the foreground, as one of the Institute's objectives is to fill the gap which is not covered by the traditional Oriental Institutes of the universities, wherein the emphasis has been on the Classical

culture of Asia. This is reflected also in the fields of specialisation of the research fellows at the Institute, three of them being Indologists and three specialists in East and South-East Asia.

Miss Benedicte Hjejle, who is a Dane, took her doctorate at the University of Oxford. Her special field is the social and economic history of British India. The Institute's first publication was a lengthy article from her pen on the slavery and agricultural bondage of South Indians in the nineteenth century. The second European Conference on modern South Asian Studies at Elsinore, Denmark, was organised by Miss Hjejle. Mr. Karl-Reinhold Haellquist, a Swede, is studying the political history of modern India, particularly the nationalist movement in the nineteen-twenties. He has written several books on India in Swedish. The Institute's library, which consists of reference works, books not available elsewhere in Scandinavia, and important primary sources, is already quite good with regard to modern Indian studies. Mention may be made of a complete microfiche edition of all Census Reports and Gazetteers of India. The present writer, who is a Finn, has mainly done research on the Indus Valley script during the period he has worked at the Institute. This study, in which he is collaborating with three other Finns, viz. Simo Parpola, Seppo Koskenniemi and Pentti Aalto, was initiated in 1964. Three preliminary reports have been published in the Special Publications series of the Institute by the said team, and a critical edition and a computer-printed concordance of the available Harappan inscriptions are due to appear shortly in the Institute's monograph series, along with the writer's book on the Harappan religion. One of the main purposes of my present visit to India and Pakistan, which is sponsored by the Institute, is the examination of the original inscriptions for the critical edition. The Institute awarded in 1969 one year's research scholarship to Dr. R. Panneerselvam of Kerala University so

that he could assist in the study of the Harappan script, which, according to the writer and his colleagues, transcribes a Dravidian language. During his stay Dr. Panneerselvam prepared, with the help of computer, line-corcordance to all words occurring in some of the Classical Tamil texts, and collected Tamil proper names and epithets from early inscriptions. The Institute has also started a project of publishing a reverse lexicon of Tamil and an index to the components of compound Tamil words on the basis of the *Tamil Lexicon* with the help of computer. Mr. Eric Grinstead, who has done this work with the help of Mrs. Setsuko Bergholdt, is a specialist in the Tangut script and language, used in the tenth to the thirteenth century in North-Western China. He has submitted a thesis on this practically unknown script, and is publishing the extensive Tangut Tripiṭaka in collaboration with Dr. Lokesh Chandra of the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, who possesses the material, and the University of Copenhagen as well as the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies.

Thanks to the co-operation of the International Institute of Tamil Studies and the British Government, Dr. P. R. Subrahmanian is now continuing the work of Dr. Panneerselvam at Copenhagen. Both have also taught Tamil at the University of Copenhagen and helped in cataloguing the Tamil documents in the State Archives of Denmark.

Denmark is a good place for Tamil Studies which have so long been neglected. The Royal Library of Copenhagen has a unique collection of early Tamil printed books. This is due to the fact that Denmark had a small colony at Tranquebar (near Thanjavur)—and another at Serampore (near Calcutta)—from the early years of the seventeenth century to about the middle of the nineteenth. The archives of the Danish East India Company and the Government records relating to these colonies have been studied by Danish historians, particularly

by Prof. Kristof Glamann and Dr. Ole Feldbaek of the University of Copenhagen. The State Archives are now publishing a catalogue of all these documents.

Tranquebar housed the first Protestant mission in India, with German and Danish missionaries like Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg, who made invaluable observations on many aspects of South Indian culture, published in Halle in several thick volumes. The famous Danish linguist, Rasmus Rask, travelled in the beginning of the nineteenth century in India and Ceylon, buying Pali manuscripts and compiling a Pali grammar. This initiated the study of the Pali language for which Copenhagen has long been well known. The Critical Pali Dictionary, which is now edited by the Danish Academy of Sciences with the assistance of an international board of scholars, is based on the foundation laid by V. Trenckner hundred years ago. He copied the Pali canon from the manuscripts, and prepared a very comprehensive card index to its vocabulary. His work was carried on by V. Fausboell, who is famous for his work on the Jātaka stories, and Dines Andersen, who has published the well-known Pali Reader with a Glossary. Poul Tuxen, who wrote several books on Indian religions was succeeded as Professor of Sanskrit at the Copenhagen University by the present holder of the chair, Hans Hendriksen, some twenty years ago. Prof. Hendriksen started his career with a book on the laryngal theory with special reference to the Hittite language, but has written also a book on the Syntax of Pali. During recent years, he has been engaged in a study of the Himachal dialects. A well-known Danish contribution to the study of North Indian languages, which has been published, is Mr. Joergensen's Newari Dictionary. Mr. Frede Moeller-Kristensen, who is in charge of the Oriental Department of the Royal Library, is a lecturer in Pali and has written books on Indian culture in Danish. Both Hendriksen and Moeller-Kristensen have also taken part in the redaction of the Critical

Pali Dictionary. This work is carried forward today by two Danes, Mrs. Pauly and Mr. Niels Warmdahl. Dr. Ivo Fisher of the Charles University of Prague, who has been working on the Critical Pali Dictionary and specialized in Indian Erotics, is now also a member of the Department of Indology at Copenhagen University. Sanskrit is taught in Denmark also at the Institute of Linguistics of Aarhus University by Mr. U. Holmboe. Prof. Halfdan Siiger of Aarhus University has done anthropological research in Kafiristan and Nepal, while Dr. Erik Haarh of Aarhus University is a well-known Tibetologist.

In Finland, Indological studies were started in the middle of the last century by Mr. Kellgren, who published Swedish translations of Amaru and the story of Nala and Damayantī, and by Senator Otto Donner, the founder of the Finno-Ugric Society, who was the first Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Helsinki University. Otto Donner published a thesis wherein he compared the Finnish and the Indian mythology, especially the concept of the cosmic egg, and selected passages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit. His main interests lie, however, elsewhere. The first scholar who specialized in Sanskrit studies was J. N. Reuter who published a thesis on the accentuation of nominal compounds in Sanskrit. The continuation of this work was ready in manuscript, but was destroyed in an accident. In the beginning of this century, Reuter published the first volume of his edition of the *Drāhyāyaṇaśrautasūtra* (Sāmavedic text) with the commentary of Dhanvin. The rest remained unfinished in manuscript form. In the latter part of his life which ended in 1937, Reuter was mainly interested in Tocharian studies. Linguistic study of Sanskrit was carried on also by Dr. Y. M. Biese, who became Professor of various modern languages. Only in 1958, Helsinki University got its next Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Pentti Aalto, who has done extensive linguistic

study in the field of Latin, Greek, and Altaic linguistics, especially in the field of Mongolian. Prof. Aalto has also published several articles on Indology, wherein his interests have been manifold. He has edited Buddhist *Pañcarakṣā* texts with their Tibetan and Mongolian translations, written on the use of alcohol in ancient India, on Sanskrit Conditional, etc. Mention should be made of the fragments of early Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist texts recovered by the Marshall of Finland, C. G. Mannerheim, from Central Asia now kept in the Helsinki University Library. Parts of them only have been published by Reuter and Aalto. Dr. C. G. Hartman, published a few years ago a study of the Particles in the 13 principal Upaniṣads, and later a small book on the goddess Kālī. Asko Parpola's thesis was on the Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa, which he is translating into English with their commentaries. This line of study was undertaken by him to complete the work begun by J. N. Reuter. He is also preparing a critical edition of the *Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra*, parts of which he has rediscovered. Mr. Valkonen is preparing a thesis on the Gypsy languages of Finland.

In Norway, Indology has great traditions. Christian Lassen, one of the famous pioneers of the last century, whose *Indische Alterthumskunde* in many bulky volumes is still in some respects indispensable, was a Norwegian although he spent most of his life as a Professor in Germany. Norway had another great Indologist in Sten Konow whose publications are extensive both in volume and scope. He also studied in Germany, writing a thesis on the *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*. He wrote a hand-book on Indian theatre, published the classical volume on Dravidian and Munda languages in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, and many papers on Indian history and epigraphy. G. Morgenstierne is also a very famous Norwegian Indologist, who has devoted his life to the study of the Tribal languages of the Indo-Iranian borderland. In spite of his old

age, he is still vigorously continuing his researches. The Santal Dictionary by Mr. Bodding published in the Series of the Norwegian Academy is a standard reference work. Today the Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oslo is Nils Simonsson, a Swede, who has specialized in the methods of the Tibetan translators of Sanskrit literature, and has also published a Swedish translation of the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*.

In Sweden, Indology has also had several eminent, representatives. R. I. Johansson worked on Indian religions and Sanskrit etymologies. Ernst Arbman studied the Vedic religion, publishing among others a study of Rudra and beliefs about death. Another eminent scholar in the same field was Kasten Roennow. Hannes Skoeld, who died young, published well-known studies on the Indian Grammarians. Helmer Smith, who was one of the initiators of the Critical Pali Dictionary, edited in five volumes the difficult Pali Grammar of Aggavaṁsa and did very good work in the field of Sanskrit metrics—I mention only his rhythmical inventory of the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra*. At the present, Indology is taught in Sweden at the Universities of Uppsala, Goeteborg and Stockholm. In Uppsala, the Institute of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology is headed by Prof. Stig Wikandes, who is mainly known for his books on early Indo-Iranian religion, *Arische Maennerbund*, and *Vāyu*. Prof. Goesta Liebert at Goeteborg has wide interests. His thesis was on Sanskrit language; but at the moment he is studying Indian iconography. Recently he published a study on the polestar in Sanskrit literature. Prof. Siegfried Lienhard, an Australian in Stockholm, also has a wide scope, but is best known as an authority on modern Indian languages like Hindi and Newari. One of his advanced students, Mr. Carl Saneson, is studying Gujarati literature. At Uppsala, Tamil is taught by Mrs. Ruth Wellden who spent many years in South India. Miss Gomilla Haegglund, also of Uppsala University, is preparing a thesis on equations of the Upaniṣads, and Mr.

Lennart Persson, who likewise belongs to the staff of the Uppsala University, is at present doing field-work in India.

The *Acta Orientalia* published at Copenhagen, the *Orientalia Succana* published at Uppsala, and the *Studia Orientalia* published at Helsinki are the main journals in which Indological articles are published in Scandinavia.

In the Scandinavian countries, the number of students of Indology has been relatively small—a lecture is attended by, say, perhaps five students. This is largely due to the difficulty of getting a job after finishing one's studies. The recent developments in the world have, however, made it more and more apparent that factual knowledge of countries like India is needed also in our part of the world. Emphasis is, of course, on modern India. But especially with regard to India, a country where traditions, not seldom over four thousand years old, are still alive in a unique way, a distinction between ancient and modern is often not relevant. A knowledge of India's past, especially such things as the religion which is so intimately woven together with almost every aspect of Indian life, helps one to understand present-day India better. Therefore research in the traditional lines too has a practical value, not least is bridging the gap which is often alleged to exist between Eastern and Western thought. Nations like Scandinavia certainly need people who are able to make the great heritage of India which belongs to the whole world, available to common people. Of course, we on our part also try to do our best to open up new ways of understanding this heritage.

DVĀDAŚĀDITYA

D. R. DAS

At Tribeni in the Hooghly District (West Bengal) stands in a ruined state two Islamic monuments one of which is a *dargah* and the other a mosque.[1] The *dargah*, built to entomb the mortal remains of Zafar Khan and his wife in one of the two rooms the structure contains, is the earliest extant specimen of Muslim architecture in Bengal. Materials for constructing the *dargah* were collected by dismantling a stone temple of considerable height. The curved stone pieces, built haphazardly into the wall, bear witness to the wealth of sculptures the temple possessed when it was in complete form. These sculptures, generally arranged in panels, contain *daśāvatāra* images, hunters, foliage, *nāga* coils, etc. As a result of the clearance work executed at the site during the year 1932-33, a number of sculptures including a panel showing twelve Ādityas with Śiva, Brahman and Viṣṇu in the centre were discovered.[2] Evidently, the stone beam bearing the panel was the part of a lintel of the said temple.

The images of the Ādityas are all four-handed and standing on lotus-pedestal. Of the four hands, the upper two hold the usual lotus stalks. The attributes in their lower hands are not always distinguishable owing to the damage done to the figures. Age has also its share in obliterating some of them. However, it appears from an on-the-spot inspection that five out of the six Ādityas to the right of the trinity show each a lotus mark on the right palm and hold a double-edged *vajra* (thunderbolt) in the left hand. The two Ādityas immediately flanking the

1 A. H. Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, 1961, pp. 43f.

2 *ASI, AR*, 1930-34, Part I, pp. 36f.

triad have each a mace (staff ?) in the lower left hand. What the five Ādityas to the left carried in their respective lower left hands cannot be identified now. It may be that some of them held emblems other than *vajra*.

Dvādaśāditya in iconic form either single or in group are not frequently encountered. In this respect, the present panel is very important. Moreover, it seems to be the only Dvādaśāditya panel that occurs as an architectural piece in Eastern India. We know the existence of only one such panel in Western India.[3] It was Gopinatha Rao[4] who drew the attention of scholars to an architectural frame lying outside the Junagadh Museum in Kathiawad where two-armed figures of Sūrya carrying lotuses are arranged in separate niches, three on either side and five on the top. Excepting the top centre figure which is shown seated and accompanied by two arrow-shooting goddesses, all the ten are standing and attended by other female companions. The eleven Ādityas together with the central figure which is missing would make up the requisite number. Sometimes images of Sun are found to have been surrounded by other Ādityas in the same fashion. Sankalia[5] refers to a Sūrya relief from Dhank in which the *prabhāvalī* of the main image contains the figures of the eleven Ādityas, five on either side and one on the top. Some such examples are also found in Bengal. Thus Bhattasali notices an image of the Sun-god once worshipped in the house of the Gosvāmins at Sonarang, Dacca District (East Pakistan).[6] Here eleven Ādityas are

3 It is possible that there are similar other panels. For instance, the Kailasanātha temple at Kanchipuram has among the *parivāradevatās* the twelve Ādityas (see T. V. Mahalingam, *Studies in the South Indian Temple Complex*, p. 64). Further enquiry may lead to more discoveries.

4 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 317, Plate XCV.

5 *The Archaeology of Gujarat*, pp. 158ff., Figs. 70 and 72.

6 N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 172f.

arranged in a semi-circular row on the top of the stele. On the right side of the principal deity are eight planets which together with the Sun-god complete the traditional list of nine Grahas. Besides, there are twelve Zodiacal signs and the miniature figures of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. Over the *prabhāvalī* occur six male figures sitting cross-legged. Bhattasali thinks that they may represent the six seasons. To the left are seven female figures sitting cross-legged one over another and two more, similarly arranged, are closer to the god. According to Bhattasali, the first seven represent the *sapta-mātṛkā*, the identification of the two others being doubtful. From some unknown sites in Vikrampur came three more images of the Sun with eleven Ādityas around him.[7] A similar image was also found at Rampal.[8] Bhattasali noticed two Sun images each showing eleven Ādityas on the stele at the house of Anukulchandra Ray at Comilla (East Pakistan).[9] One of these two was originally found somewhere in the Tippera District. Bhattasali, however, does not record the occurrence of the Ādityas around the image of Sun from Rajair in the Faridpur District.[10]

It follows from what has been said above that the Tribeni panel is the only known example where we find the true representation of Dvādaśāditya, all of whom enjoy equal status. Moreover, the presence of the Brāhmaṇical triad adds to its interest. In this connection, it may be remembered that Dhātṛ, Rudra and Viṣṇu have been included among the Ādityas. Further, as Banerjea[11] points out, Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva are to be meditated in the morning, midday and evening respec-

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 170f.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 273 and Plate LXIb.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
10 *Loc. cit.*
11 *JISOA*, Vol. XVI, 1948, p. 86.

tively, each shining within the flaming solar orb. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* occurs a significant stanza :

Brāhmī Māheśvarī c = aiva Vaiṣṇavī c = aiva te tanuḥ /
tridhā yasya svarūpan = tu Bhānor = Bhāsvān prasīdatu //

"Brahman's, Śiva's and Viṣṇu's bodies are the same as the body of the resplendent Sun whose special nature is three-fold indeed. May the Sun be gracious."[12]

The *pīṭhamantra* in the *Sāradātilaka* is : *Brahma-Viṣṇu-Śiv-ātmakāya Saurāya yogapīṭhāya namaḥ.*[13] Similar invocations of the Sun are also found in many other texts ; e.g.,

(a) *tvaṁ Śivas = tvaṁ Harir = deva tvaṁ Brahmā tvaṁ Divaspatiḥ /*
tvam = oṅkāro baṣaṭkāraḥ svadhā svāhā tvam = eva hi //[14]

(b) *śabda-mātra-śruti-mukhā Brahma-Viṣṇu-Śiv-ādayaḥ /*
pratyakṣo = 'yaṁ paro devaḥ Sūryas = timira-nāśanaḥ //[15]

(c) *eṣa Brahmā ca Viṣṇuś = ca Rudra eṣa hi Bhāskaraḥ.*[16]

(d) *Āditya = 'yaṁ pūrvaṁ pallavitena tridhā-bhedena Hari-Hara-Brahma-mūrtir = bhāt = ity = api nigūḍham = paraṁ tattvam.*[17]

It is no wonder that, while the solar character of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad has been asserted in no uncertain terms in literature, there should be some sculptures to confirm it. Banerjea refers to some such images in which emphasis is laid on the oneness of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahman with the Sun-god.[18] Again instances are not rare where individual members of the

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12 *Bib. Ind.*, Ch. 109, v. 71.

13 Quoted by Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 89f.

14 *Saura Purāṇa*, Vangavasi ed., I. 35.

15 *Brahma Purāṇa*, Vangavasi ed., XXX. 19.

16 Quoted from an unpublished MS. of the *Sūryopaniṣad* in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* (ed. Balaram Srivastav), Intro., p. 38.

17 Quoted in the *Ādityahṛdaya*, ed. Deviprasad Vyakaranatirtha, Intro., p. *ca*.

18 Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 87ff. See also H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, Fig. 144 ; Burgess, 'Archaeological Antiquities of Northern Gujarat', *ASWI*, Vol. IX, pp. 88f., Plates LXIX and LXX. 7.

triad are associated with the Sun-god in composite images.[19] But the Tribeni example is singular in grouping the three supreme gods with Dvādaśāditya and suggesting thereby their association with different manifestations of the Sun.

From very early times various aspects of the Sun have been recognised under different names which account for the origin of the Dvādaśāditya concept. In the Vedic age, sacrifices were offered to Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Mitra and Varuṇa, each personifying different attributes of the Sun. These deities along with a few additions and alterations came to constitute, in different groupings and in various contexts, the class of gods called Āditya.[20] In one place in the *Ṛgveda*, they are six in number, viz., Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, and Aṁsa.[21] In its last books, the number is stated to be seven[22] .or eight,[23] Aditi at first representing to the gods that she bore seven children and afterwards bringing forth the eighth, Mārtaṇḍa. The *Atharvaveda*[24] refers to the eight sons of Aditi who were, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*,[25] Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Aṁsa, Bhaga, Dhātṛ, Indra and Vivasvat. The latter list has been quoted by Sāyaṇa (on *RV*, II. 27.1). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[26] once speaks of the Ādityas as having become eight by the addition of Mārtaṇḍa, while elsewhere[27] they are said to be twelve in number and are identified with the twelve months.

19 See Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, pp. 548ff.

20 For the Ādityas in the Vedas, see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*.

21 II. 27.1.

22 IX. 114. 3.

23 X. 72. 8.

24 VIII. 9.21.

25 I. 1.9.1. In another place the same text says that Aditi had four sons (*Aditiḥ putrakāmā ... ... tasmai cattvāra Ādityā ajāyanta*, VI. 5.6).

26 See Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 43f.

The epics, Purāṇas and other later texts strictly adhere to the number which became fixed at twelve. Known as Dvādaśāditya, they were regarded as the different varieties of Sūrya, 'the expresser of the world'.[28] Through them, the great god Savitṛ makes himself omnipotent :

> *ābhir = dvādaśabhis = tena Savitrā paramātmanā |*
> *kṛtsnaṁ jagad = idaṁ vyāptaṁ mūrtibhiś = ca dvijottamāḥ||*[29]

These twelve Ādityas are now connected by name with the twelve months of the year. According to the *Skanda Purāṇa*,[30] Āditya has twelve names, viz. Āditya, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mihira, Arka, Pratāpana, Mārtaṇḍa, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Citrabhānu, Divākara and Ravi. Besides, his other twelve names are Viṣṇu, Dhātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan, Mitra, Aṁśu, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Indra Vivasvat, Tvaṣṭṛ and Parjanya. They shine respectively in the twelve months. Viṣṇu's rays are 1200, Aryaman's 1300, Vivasvat's 1400 and Aṁśumat's 1500. Parjanya and Varuṇa shine respectively like Vivasvat and Aryaman. The rays of Indra are 1200 and those of Dhātṛ, Mitra, Bhaga and Tvaṣṭṛ[31] 1100.

The rays of the Ādityas begin to increase with the commencement of the northern cycle and to diminish with that of the southern cycle. The twelve-formed Divakāra continues to shine through different *manvantaras* at Prabhāsa under the name of Śāmbāditya. In the *Kūrma Purāṇa*,[32] it is said that the rays of Varuṇa are 5000, of Pūṣan 6000, of Aṁśu 7000,

28 *Viśvakarmaśāstra*, quoted by Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, App. C. p. 86.

29 *Brahma Purāṇa*, XXX, 41-42.

30 101. 58-69 [sic—Ed.].

31 The *Brahma Purāṇa* (31.22-24) speaks of the same number of rays for each of the Ādityas. But, while it says that Bhaga and Tvaṣṭṛ like Mitra, have 1100 rays, Mitra is credited immediately afterwards with 1000 rays. It adds further that Pūṣan has 900 rays.

32 Pūrva, 42. 23-25.

of Dhātṛ 8000, of Śatakratu 9000, of Vivasvat 10000, of Bhaga 11000, of Mitra 7000, of Tvaṣṭṛ 8000, of Aryaman 10000, of Parjanya 9000 and of Viṣṇu 6000.

As the names of the 12 Ādityas differ from text to text, their association with the twelve months is also not uniform as may be seen from the following table.

Month	*Kūrma Purāṇa*[33]	*Āditya-hṛdaya*[34]	Balinese Text[35]	*Brahma Purāṇa*[36]
Vaiśākha	Dhātṛ	Bhānu	Bhānu	Aryaman
Jyaiṣṭha	Indra	Indra	Indra	Vivasvat
Āṣāḍha	Ravi	Ravi	Aryaman	Aṁśumat
Śrāvaṇa	Vivasvat	Gamasti	Bhaga	Parjanya
Bhādra	Bhaga	Yama	Yama	Varuṇa
Āśvina	Parjanya	Suvarṇaretas	Parjanya	Indra
Kārttika	Tvaṣṭṛ	Divākara	Divākara	Dhātṛ
Mārgaśirṣa	Mitra	Mitra	Mitra	Mitra
Pauṣa	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu	Pūṣan
Māgha	Varuṇa	Aruṇa	Aruṇa	Bhaga
Phālguna	Pūṣan	Sūrya	Vivasvat	Tvaṣṭṛ
Caitra	Aṁśu	Vedāṅga	Aṁśu	Viṣṇu

The arrangement in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[37] is quite different. According to it, Sūrya presides over Phālguna, Caitra and Vaiśākha, Dhātṛ and Indra over Vaiśākha, Ravi over Jyaiṣṭha, Nabhas over Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra, Parjanya over

33 42. 18–22.

34 53-57.

35 See *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, ed. Sylvain Le'vi, GOS, pp. xxix, 66. Che'zy in his edition of the *S'akuntalā* (pp. 274f.) mentions the passages as found in a Bibliotheque Nationale MS (Cat., III. 333) which offers a different list. [This list agrees with that of the *Ādityahṛdaya*, but quotes Tapana in place of Bhānu.—Ed.]

36 31. 19-21.

37 Quted in the *Ādityahṛdaya*, pp. *ta-ṭha*.

Āśvina, Tvaṣṭṛ over Kārttika, Mitra over Mārgaśīrṣa and Viṣṇu over Pauṣa.

The *Kūrma Purāṇa,*[38] after specifying the twelve Ādityas, states that Bhānu associates himself with them in succession in different seasons starting from the spring. The twelve Brahmavādin sages, viz., Pulastya, Pulaha, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Aṅgiras, Bhṛgu, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Kaśyapa, Kratu, Jamadagni and Kauśika, invoke them respectively in various hymns.

A legend in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* says that the gods known as Vaikuṇṭha in the Cariṣṇu-manvantara being invoked on the approach of the Cākṣusa-manvantara, by Aditi, decided to be born as her sons in the Vaivasvata-manvantara. By becoming the sons of Aditi, they thought to get the status of Āditya. Thereafter, they were born in twelve parts as sons of Kaśyapa during the Cākṣusa-manvantara. These gods are known as Jaya in the Svāyambhuva-manvantara. Cursed by Brahman, they were born as Svārociṣa in the Tuṣita-manvantara, as Satya in the Uttama-manvantara, as Hari in the Tāmasa-manvantara, as Vaikuṇṭha in the Cariṣṇu-manvantara, as Sādhya in the Cākṣuṣa-manvantara and as Āditya in the Vaivasvata-manvantara. These Ādityas are Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūṣan, Parjanya, Tvaṣṭṛ and Viṣṇu. Of them, Viṣṇu though the youngest, is the most powerful.[39]

After giving an identical list of the Ādityas, the *Brahma Purāṇa*[40] says that, in these twelve forms, .Sūrya is present everywhere. Thus Indra, after killing the enemies of the gods, reigns in the latters' realm. Dhātṛ, as Prajāpati, creates *prajā*. Parjanya assuming the form of cloud showers rain. Tvaṣṭṛ resides in the plants. Pūṣan, in the form of Vāyu, takes refuge in the heavenly bodies. Bhaga exists on the earth among the

38 Pūrva, 41. 2-5.

39 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 66. 56-68. Cf. also *Saura Purāṇa*, XXVIII. 14-15.

40 30. 26-44.

worldly creatures. Vivasvat remaining in Agni consumes the food taken by living beings. Viṣṇu in order to destroy the foes of the gods appears regularly. Aṁśumat pleases the *prajās* from his domain in the air. Varuṇa resides in water and from there protects the subjects. Mitra lives on the banks of the Candrasarit for the benefit of man. He performs austerity and gratifies his devotees. Mitra is the friend of all. The great god Savitṛ covers the entire world with these twelve forms. That is why devotees meditate on him. Those who hear and read the names of the twelve Ādityas with proper devotion are worshipped at the end in the Sūrya-loka.

The *Pāñcarātra Āgama*, while referring to the images in the *karṇakūṭas*, *śālās* and *dvāras* of each of the many tiers in a *vimāna*, says that the twelve Ādityas along with Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Ananta, the Aṣṭa-dikpālas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Apsarases should be placed in the third tier.[41]

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*[42] ordains that the Ādityas should be worshipped in the second *Kakṣā*. As regards the orientation of the Ādityas, the *Kāśyapaśilpa*[43] suggests an order starting from the north :

Vikartano Vivasvāṁś=ca Mārtaṇḍo Bhāskaro Raviḥ ||
Lokapālaḥ Prakāśaś=ca Lokasākṣī Trivikramaḥ |
Ādityaś=ca tathā Sūryaḥ Aṁsumālī Divākaraḥ ||

The presence of Lokapāla in this list of the Ādityas is indeed very significant. The Lokapālas are known to have been the guardian deities of the quarters. Probably the idea of Sun

41 See Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

42 Pūrva-khaṇḍa, XVII. 7-8. The Ādityas are Bhaga, Sūrya, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Savitṛ, Dhātṛ, Vivasvat, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan, Candra and Viṣṇu.

43. XLVII. 81-83. Cf. also
Vaivasvato Vivasvāṁś=ca Mārtāṇḍo Bhāskaro Raviḥ |
Lokaprakāśakaś=c=aiva Lokasākṣī Trivikramaḥ ||
(*Aṁśumadbhedāgama* quoted by Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, App. B, p. 83). [Vaivasvata (Vikartana ?) is a wrong name for an Āditya.—Ed.]

being present in all the quarters contributed to his assimilating the character of the Lokapālas also.[44] A passage of the *Brahma Purāṇa* quoted above emphasises the all-pervading nature of the Ādityas. In view of this, the virtual identification of nine solar deities common to the general lists of Ādityas with the Dikpālas in the *Ādityahṛdaya*[45] becomes meaningful. According to this text, an eight-petalled lotus with pericarp should be drawn and eight solar deities should be placed on these eight petals respectively with Bhāskara in the centre, east—Sūrya, south-east—Ravi, south—Vivasvat, south-west—Bhaga, west—Varuṇa, north-west—Mitra, north—Āditya, and north-east—Viṣṇu.

The way in which these nine deities have been arranged in the above passage reminds one of the Sūryamaṇḍala also mentioned in the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* :[46]

The *maṇḍala* concept is also probably at the back of the image stelae depicting the central Sun icon surrounded or flanked by eleven Ādityas. But the divinities shown in these sculptures in a miniature scale do not help us in determining if they had any special iconographic traits. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*[47] simply says that 'the twelve Ādityas should be given the form of Sūrya'. Texts dealing with their iconography are not many. Gopinatha Rao quotes from some such texts.[48] Thus according to the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the Ādityas are holding two lotuses one each in their two hands. They stand on red lotus, have red halo and *karaṇḍamukuṭa* ; they wear red gar-

44 [*Lokapālaḥ Prakāśaś=ca* seems to be a mistake for *Lokaprakāśakaś c=aiva* (see note 43), as otherwise there will be 13 names instead of 12. However, the names of most of the *Lokapālas* or *Dikpālas* are traceable i- one or other list of the Ādityas.—Ed.]

45 *Ādityahṛdaya*, 99-102.

46 Quoted by Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, App. C, pp.478f.

47 72. 7.

48 See *op. cit.*, App. B.

ment and are endowed with *channavīra*. Their description in the *Suprabhedāgama* is almost similar. The *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* adds that they are two-eyed and wear sacred thread. It further ordains that they should be made like the Moon.

A more detailed description of the Ādityas occurs in the *Viśvakarmaśāstra*. Banerjea[49] points out one or two mistakes in the table prepared by Gopinatha Rao[50] out of this account. The corrected table may be as follows :

Name of Āditya	Back Right Hand	Back Left Hand	Front Left Hand	Front Right Hand
Dhātṛ	Lotus, Garland	Kamaṇḍalu	Lotus	Lotus
Mitra	Soma	Śūla	do.	do.
Aryaman	Cakra	Kaumodakī	do.	do.
Rudra	Akṣamālā	Cakra	do.	do.
Varuṇa	Cakra	Pāśa	do.	do:
Sūrya	Kamaṇḍalu	Akṣamālā	do.	do.
Bhaga	Śūla	Cakra	do.	do.
Vivasvat	Śūla	Garland	do.	do.
Pūṣan	...	...	do.	do.
Savitṛ	Gadā	Cakra	do.	do.
Tvaṣṭṛ	Sruk	Homajaka-likā (?)	do.	do.
Viṣṇu	Cakra	Lotus	...	...

As it appears from the above table, out of the twelve Ādityas, Pūṣan is definitely two-handed while Viṣṇu also seems to be two-armed for the text enjoins that 'Sudarśana should be in his right hand and lotus in his left.' Again Mitra has three eyes ; Rudra is an important Āditya ; Pūṣan, the destroyer of all sins, is to be portrayed beautifully ; Savitṛ is capable of fulfilling the wishes of his devotees and bestowing boons on them ; and Viṣṇu is the most lustrous Āditya.

49 *Op. cit.*, pp. 84n, 99 f.
50 *Op. cit.*, p. 310.

An almost similar passage giving identical description of the Dvādaśāditya occurs in the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*.[51] However, the latter text makes Sudhāman instead of Sudhātṛ the first Āditya. It is possible that Sudhāman here is a mistake for Sudhātṛ. Another discrepancy is found in the description of Rudra who is said to have *vajra* and not *cakra* in his left hand.

The representations of the Ādityas so far noticed, however, do not conform to the description of the *Viśvakarmaśāstra*, but follow the *Viṣṇudharmottara* prescription. The Tribeni example is a notable exception. Though is it not entirely in agreement with the details found in the South Indian texts, its difference from the formula laid down in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is remarkable. The sculptor obviously made the images after some well-established conventions, but attempts to find their śāstric confirmation in the Śilpa texts have failed.

51 IV. 22-34.

TRANSLATION

THE COMMON ORIGIN OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA AND THE FAR EAST

H. PARMENTIER

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It is a recognised fact, and justly recognised, from the very beginning of studies in the principal arts of the Far East, that they owe their origin to two sources, India and China, and it was easy enough to make the division into two sources. If there is any disagreement, it is as to whether the arts of the one family have not derived some element from the other source. Besides, as far as the figured representations are concerned, it is admitted that some of the main charactertistics of the holy images were brought to China along with Indian Buddhism, and scholars attribute to Greece a considerable share in the birth of these holy images, a share more or less preponderant, according to the various opinions. It is really only a matter of degree, and the fact has been established, at least on the whole. We shall deal here with scarcely anything but those arts of the Far East which are attached to the Indian branch.

As far as Indo-China is concerned, they are : Cham art ; the two forms of Khmer art, namely, Primitive and Classical, separated by the hiatus of the eighth century ; Laos art ; Siamese art ; which participates in both ; and Burmese art ; outside Indo-China, it is Indo-Javanese art. However, though the common origin of these arts is not disputed, it is neverthe-

less difficult to state exactly the manner of the origin of each of them, and their actual degree of affinity. It is this point which we shall endeavour to clear up here, but only as regards architecture.

The connection, admitted by all, of these arts with the art of India, is a consequence of their religious dependence rather than a result arrived at by the examination of the forms. It is known that the various countries concerned received from India Buddhism or Brāhmaṇism, as the case may be, and it is deduced therefrom, as a natural corollary, that their monuments, which were built for the purpose of receiving the very same images. Moreover, this is as far as it goes, for the similarity between the first of these edifices and those of India, whether contemporary or previous, is far from being a striking one ; if they were stripped of their images and their inscriptions, and if the various texts had vanished, nobody would, at first sight, even dream of associating them with the Hindu temples. At the very most, we feel that there is an undefined family likeness about them, but by no means any direct relationship.

These vague points of resemblance appear to establish their filiation with the monuments built in the Deccan by the dynasty of the Pallavas. The relations of this dynasty with the countries of the East are a historical fact, and this concordance was sufficient to confirm the hypothesis of the Indian origin of these arts. However, if they are born of a common stock, they ought to resemble one another, and to differ but little from the prototype ; but this is by no means the case.

It is true that India itself is scarcely better off, and that there is greater divergence between certain types of its architecture than between this art of the Pallavas and the arts of the Far East. In fact, even the origin of the most widely spread forms, as for instance, the *śikhara*, has remained a mystery hitherto.

All this is strange, and no certain filiation can be determined. The question must therefore be taken up again thoroughly and in its entirety.

Let us take up a survey of the various Indian arts both in India and the Far East. It would appear more logical to begin with the first-named. However, our object is not to give a general picture of the Indian architecture. We limit our ambition to determining the origin of the various families of monuments which have come down to us. For this reason we shall come back to India by a roundabout path, and shall first of all attempt a survey of the arts of the Far East in their first manifestations only, seeking to determine their main characteristics together with the spirit of their composition.

A. Campā, in which Indian influence is verified since the third century of the Christian era, in an unmistakable manner (the stela of Vo-canh),* does not afford us the earliest evidence of its art until the seventh century.

At that period, this art appears constituted in its most perfect form, and after that, it begins to degenerate. In this art the architecture bears the stamp of two distinct schools, which we have described in the "Inventaire" by the names of Primitive art and Cubic art. They have in common the custom of constructing the temples in sanctuaries formed by a square brick tower, fortified by false doors and preceded by a vestibule which is in itself a small tower ; These edifices sometimes show a front of several towers, but there is nothing to authorise our believing that this conception came into being at an early period ; we have to wait a long time to see a front of this kind planned at one stroke (Van-tu'o'ng in the eleventh century).

The most normal plan seems to be a quincunx of sanc-

* [The inscription is assigned by some to the fourth or fifth century A. D.—Ed.]

tuaries, the one dominant, the rest sometimes leaning against the boundary wall.

The primitive art at its early stages shows rather often a rectangular sanctuary, with a small storey enclosed between two curved gables.

In both forms, the walls are divided by chiselled pilasters. The primitive art adorns the spaces between the pilasters by niches containing a figure each. The door or the false doors, for framing the bay itself, consist of two elegant projecting pillars, usually redented, supporting an ogival gable ; a sculptured tympanum is framed by mouldings in the shape of an inverted 'U' ; the mouldings terminable at the base in two designs, which are generally elephant-headed monsters turning towards the interior, or *makara* heads looking towards the exterior ; a series of rampant leaves brings the contour into the form of a bulb-shaped arch.

All the arches or gables and apses of the statues are executed in the same spirit.

On the body of the tower in the primitive art, we find a series of storeys similar to the body, rising one above the other, and diminishing as they rise in clearly defined stages ; but they have no base, hence they give the effect of rising from the ground itself ; the axes are occupied by four motifs corresponding to the false doors ; every sharp angle of the terrace is crowned by a finial which is in itself a reduction of the tower, whilst the storey as a whole thus forms a reduction of the quincuncial plan which is sometimes seen executed for the entire temple.

The last storey is octagonal in form, and bears a shell-shaped crown. In the corners of the cornices, and at the top of the gables, the angles are accentuated by flagstones cut out into sharp outlines, to represent a *nāga* or a *makara* head.

The cubic art, with less reduction of the breadth of the storeys, treats them as though they were a complete structure

superposed on the lower body. In this art there are no finials, and the expedient of accentuating the angles is less used. Its door, with the octagonal columns supporting a lintel, is hidden beneath a different style of gable, supported by two pilasters, the mouldings of which are cut towards the interior by an unattractive plan.

B. Properly speaking, we are here concerned only with the first form of Cambodian art, namely, the primitive Khmer art, pre-Ankor art, or pre-Khmer art, by whatever name we choose to call it. This would, however, be admitting that the second form, that which reached the zenith of its development at Ankor, is the continuation of the first, and our view is exactly the opposite of this. We shall examine both forms in their respective beginnings.

(a) Pre-Khmer art does not appear as Cham art until long after Indian civilisation was brought to Cambodia. It is also divided into two separate currents, but less opposed to one another. Both of these currents proceed by way of isolated sanctuaries, preferably rectangular, but with multiple storeys, which are terminated by a vault with two gables, even when the edifice is built on the plan of a square. The section of the main body may have either an even or else a redented outline.

The simple type usually presents a plan without projections; it is adorned by serrated pilasters, and its cornice supports numerous storeys, small and not much set back, which are terminated either by the double gabled vault or by a central crowning. This composition leaves no room for corner finials.

The rich type offers a redent on each front, each of these being adorned by a false door. The pilasters conceal in the intermediate pilasters a figured edifice representing a flying palace on a reduced scale, and always terminated by a gable. The larger storeys are complete, and repeat the lower body

with its base, and the cabinet of the various terraces presents the typical motif of the headed niches, the *kūḍu** of the Pallava art.

The corners are provided with finials, either in the form of towers on a reduced scale, or else decorative ; these occur less frequently in the sanctuaries, but are always found in the figured palaces on the intermediate pilasters. The upper vault, which terminates the building above two storeys, rarely more, appears to have been decorated with a row of ears of corn.

In both forms, the bay, whether the true or the false one, is more or less rich, and presents a door between wide slabs, preceded by circular little columns and a lintel : and it always bears the design of an arch terminated or swallowed up by a *makara* ; it is the *tiruvāci*** of Pallava art. The gable which is superposed on this, rests by a thin slab upon two pilasters with cut mouldings ; by a square outline with rounded corners, expanded below, it frames the further image of a palace.

In both forms, the sanctuaries are constructed with glazed brick, and must have looked like stone buildings.

(b) Classical Khmer art, in its turn, also presents two different currents ; the one is less known than the other, and at its origin, we have baptized it by the name of Indravarman art ; it seems, though only to a certain extent, to be a continuation of the rich type of pre-Khmer art, and is prolonged in art from the poor temples, which were always of brick, down to the last days of the Classical period.

Like pre-Khmer art, this art begins by using nothing but glazed brick for the mass of the building, but it abandons the rectangular plan, and, in particular, the termination in opposing gables. The plan is square and redented, the storeys are

* [*I. e.* the cupola.—Ed.]

** [*I. e.* the semi-circular arch.—Ed.]

large, complete, and few in number ; they are frequently embellished by finials at the corners, showing the tower on a small scale.

With regard to the decoration, this art drops the *kūḍu* and abandons the flying palaces in the intermediate pilasters ; instead of this, it substitutes a niche enclosing a personage, whilst the rest of the panel is furnished with a characteristic decoration. The arch retains its shape, namely, a square with rounded corners, and its support of cut pilasters ; they conceal a lintel which is halfway between Type III and Types I and II, and then Type III is frankly adopted.[1]

The octagonal little columns grow more and more like those of the second series, and the tympanum, after having received a very special ornamentation, remains usually bare, all in the same mass, in a square with rounded corners, down to the last days.

At the same time, namely, at the beginning of the ninth century, the Classical art shows a totally different combination, which cannot be associated with any known art. It still treats the sanctuaries as towers, but there is a new arrangement, namely, it unites them by a series of more or less open galleries, the corbelled vault of which, with its bell-shaped extrados, can only be supported by stone pillars : these galleries have a higher central nave, accompanied by one or two aisles in the same style, but in semi-arches. Here, the pillars are square, and the principal ones are without a base. The sanctuary-tower may also be detached from the whole edifice, and in that case is often pierced by four bays. Whether this tower stands free, or whether it is joined by galleries, it always presents a plan with several redents, which are accentuated all the more by the projection of the doors, in such a way that the whole building tends to be lozenge-shaped (i.e., diamond-shaped). The pilaster no longer projects to any appreciable degree, and then it disappears altogether, when the intermediate pilaster

1 See M. L. de Lajonquiere's classification in *IK*, I, Pl. LXXVIIIff.

forms a panel of sculptures, the chief feature of which is a large niche occupied by a figure. The doors and false doors form around the bay a lintel frame of Type III, not yet unique in the Bayon, one of the first-born of this art, and octagonal little columns with serrated mouldings. The external surrounding is made up of a pediment of an entirely new type, supported by a false decorative beam of stone on a fore-part with cut mouldings. The pediment is framed by an undulating serpent's body, and then finishes off with multiple *nāgas* at the bottom, issuing forth from a monster's head. The curve is regulated into the mass of an ogive by a series of rampant foliage, sharp and joined ; the main tympana are adorned with scenes arranged in horizontal rows, similar to those on the doors of the cathedrals of Europe.

The numerous storeys repeat the whole of the lower composition, and they outline even more definitely and gradually nearer and nearer the redentation of the plan ; here the pediments of the false bays resume the rectangular form of the Indravarman art and the pre-Khmer art ; and the decoration of simple scrolls around a monster's head, but with the Classical motif of *nāgas* and rampant foliage. The offset of each storey on the cabinet is too slight to call for a finial ; and a simple row of roof ornaments, placed on intermediary axes and on the corners, is sufficient to occupy it. The circular crown in the shape of a lotus, is easily placed on the last storey, the redents of which almost form a circle. The multiplication of storeys and of the arises of the redents together with the presence of the roof ornaments, finally has the effect of enclosing the whole thing into the mass of an elongated ellipsoid, even of a curvilinear cone. Indeed, this is the appearance presented by the super-structures of the towers of Ankor Vat, when we rid them of the pinnacles, with which the pitiable restoration work of Fournereau, only too faithfully followed at the Marseilles exhibition, rigged them out, thereby disfiguring

them : the representations of the bas-reliefs have at the top only a short termination in keeping with the general spirit.

The galleries and the long buildings, always provided with one storey, show the same system of ogival pediments to finish off the vaults, which are made so as to imitate curved roofings with fluted tiles. All the compositions of the galleries and vestibules follow the same law of proportional reduction ; it therefore follows that the tops project from the front to the back, and each unit seems ready to enter into the preceding one. General de Beylie humorously called this the telescopic system.

Much importance is often attributed to the basements which range themselves in tiers. One thing which should be observed is the preponderance of the *nāga*, both in the composition and in the decoration ; it supplants the *makara* almost entirely.

In the same way as we have included the Classical Khmer art in this review, though of more recent date than the Pallava, we shall also include the modern Cambodian *vat* ; for in its modern execution, it seems to be repeating additional forms which have come down to us on some very ancient monuments, like Vat Phu and Prah Vihar. It is always presented in the sharp roofs, and the triangular pent-roof of its gable offers the same framing, in a simplified form.

C. We shall also devote some space to the art of Laos, the *pagodas* of which so much ruined already, can never themselves scarcely claim to be called ancient, though here too, tradition seems to have maintained very ancient forms. The buildings are classified into *vat*, *that*, and vaulted chapels.

Like all Cham or Khmer halls, the *vats* in their richest form, offer three naves ; two rows of columns were enclosed by walls with pierced windows beneath an image of the conventional *prasat*, or rather of a special *that*. Two porches serve to continue the hall under the same roof, and open it at the

two ends. The columns, which are sometimes round, are more frequently square and redented, without a base, and diminishing from the bottom upwards. They are provided with capitals of a special type and without an abacus. The roofs which are imbricated "telescopically" have their extreme margins turned up to form two graceful corners in the same style as the Khmer *nāga*.

The facets, which sometimes are in the form of slender spires, appear to be reminiscent of small towers with four bays, with curved or straight roofs, superposed, the first of which is dominant ; a tall ear of corn terminates the whole thing; and there are still some small ones extant, in this style.

They often present pent-roofs of bays in their little storeys, and some rare buildings show this same superposition of roofs, in this case straight, with the same dormer windows.

The chapels, often in simple niches, present a long vault with an ogival extrados and the arches of the enclosure doors ; the doors usually have two storeys, and present an opening of the same design. At the end of the archivolt there is a decorative design of birds, which take the place of the *makara* or the *nāga* of the other arts. Moreover, in his instance, the *nāga* disappears almost entirely, in its turn, in order to give place to another creature with a long neck, a bird with the trunk of an elephant.

D. Though we have glanced at modern Cambodian and Laos arts, we shall not examine Siamese art here, and, as a matter of fact, the beginnings of this art are not well known. It appears to partake greatly of the nature of Khmer art and Laos art ; in the complete buildings, the *prang* shows only the type of the *prasat* immeasurably elongated, and the *vat* sometimes resembles those of Cambodia, and sometimes those of Laos. Besides, Khmer art itself appears to have borrowed considerably from it, since the decadence of Cambodia.

E. In the tenth or eleventh century, that is, at a period

more recent than Cham and pre-Khmer arts, Burmese art shows us ancient forms which differ greatly from those of the above-mentioned arts. There are two main types of masonry buildings, the first being formidable masses pierced only by meagre passages, which are vaulted, and the centre of which is surmounted by a prominent crown-piece, a near relation to the Indian *śikhara* ; the second, which is rarer, offers less abnormal arrangement ; a square building crowned by a pyramid of storeys in a body of mouldings, topped by a design more or less analogous to the preceding one ; this type is met with again, and thus assumes a more general character, in the back ground of the doors. These doors, like the gables, are framed by a series of arches, the lower corner of which is reminiscent of the undulating and tall motif of the Classical Khmer gable ; in this, a large leaf is to be found in the corner ; others, rampant, embellish and regularize the exterior, undulating line. The walls are bare, but are adnorned at the angles of pilasters, which, by way of a further oddity, present a design of triangles at the extremities and of a diamond in the centre ; and these are found prevalent in the small scale edifices on the intermediate pilasters of pre-Khmer art. At the foot of the pilaster, a leaf in a projecting terminal is, in its turn, reminiscent of a motif prevalent in Laos art. However, the important and abnormal fact in an art derived from India, is the presence here of actual vaults, and marked arches (though it is true that they are constructed of large bricks) joined by the flat piece to the preceding roll, and bending in such a way as to form the vault on their edge. I have not mentioned the marked arch which is prevalent in present-day Laos art, because the monuments in this art are too modern to preclude this system from being a recent importation ; moreover, the brick is club-shaped on its long surface, as is usual. In this case, the arrangement is striking and frequent in monuments of certain date, which are contemporary with so many

edifices in India and Indo-China, where the corbelled vault is preferred.

In the face of this massive architecture, in which the jagged frame of the bays and the gables has a jarring effect, is—though only in our own modern times since the ancient models could not be preserved—a wooden architecture, with thin superposed roofs, bristling with innumerable spires, which with the delicacy of a different material, present the very quintessence of the spirit of the slashing of these archivolts of bays.

It is only by way of making a statement that I mentioned the immense and splendid *stupās*. the base of which is considerably flattened, and which present either the imposing pile of a formidable, complete cupola, or else the very high spire of a steeple a hundred yards in height.

F. With Indo-Javanese art, the only art which it remains for us to investigate, we return to a series which is more normal, and undoubtedly also more ancient.

Here, too, the monuments do not appear until a long time after the Indian influence was felt in the country. The oldest architectural witnesses to the art of Java are to be found on the Dieng plateau. They date from about the ninth century, whilst it is certain that Hindu immigration took place as early as in the fourth to fifth century.* They are small isolated monuments, very simple in form, and of very similar aspect to those which are figured on the almost contemporary bas-reliefs of Borobodur. They are small isolated temples, on a simple or redented plan, with diminishing storeys which show finials with a small-scale building, on the corners. One of the most curious ones, the Chandi Bima, on a redented plan, has a confused arrangement of storeys very much extended in height, and its corners are embellished by small turrets with two superposed

* [The correct date is a few centuries earlier. About the middle of the second century A. D., Ptolemy mentions Java as *Iabadiu* which is the Greek transliteration of the Sanskrit name *Yava-dvipa*, 'the Barley Island'.—Ed.]

bodies adorned by arched niches above, and terminated by a ribbed sphere ; they thus combine two elements which Inadi presents to us only separated by great intervals both of time and space, namely, the *kūḍu* and the *āmalaka*.

The Chandi Kalasan, of 778 A.D., is a Buddhist monument, admirable in its conception, in the form of a cross, in which the central hall is surrounded by four annexes. Its walls are adorned by beautiful niches between the corner pilasters, and above the centre there rise two octagonal storeys, whilst bell-shaped *stūpas* form the crown and the various finials which occupy those terraces which are left bare owing to the diminishing of the central composition.

The characteristic trait of these structures is the composition of the door which is shut in beneath an archivolt rising from the base, forming a huge head at the top, and finished off, below the two vertical descents, by splendid *makara* heads which turn up towards the exterior. This motif is a universal favourite in this art, and is utilized to frame the tiniest dormer-window, the smallest niche, both in monuments and in representations of buildings, such as are figured on the walls of the splendid daylight passages at Borobodur. It also rules the composition of the tops of statues ; but in these cases it is sometimes cut short on the cross-piece of the back.

The location of Śrīvijaya by M. Coedes, and the fortunate way in which Krom applied this precious discovery to Java, have today confirmed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that this admirable set of monuments, built in the centre of the island, was constructed under the influence of the kingdom of Palembang, then sovereign of the country. Sumatra itself, the centre of that power,* has but insignificant relics to show, but the

*[The Śailendra kings were sometimes called rulers of Śrīvijaya (Palembang in Sumatra). While king Bālaputra is called lord of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), his grandfather is called lord of Yava-bhūmi (Java); but king Saṅgrāmavijayottuṅgavarman is called king of Kadāram (Kaṭāha, modern Kedah in Malay Peninsula), though Śrīvijaya also formed a part of his dominions.—Ed.]

Malay Peninsula, which was dependent on it, shows in a certain old monument at Ligor, the very type of the most graceful structures which appear on the bas-reliefs of Borobodur.[2]

In contrast to the art of the Centre, the art of East Java, not subjugated by Śrī-Vijaya, which begins modestly at the same period, but only later becomes really important, presents a different composition of monuments. Whilst the centre of the inland proceeds with massive buildings, quincunxes or rows of sanctuaries surrounded by concentric lines of little temples far removed, East Java is more inclined to present isolated edifices. The plan is square, cantoned only by the door and the false doors. Here the building is extended in height, and later on, in order to be still more forceful in its effect, the sanctuary sometimes is hidden in the basement, leaving the actual cell inaccessible. We find here the same opposition as between the large flattened compositions of Burmese art or Classical Khmer art, obtained by different means, and the tall buildings of pre-Khmer art and Cham art. Furthermore, the high tower presents an entirely different composition of storeys ; the storeys are small, numerous, and composed of the repetition of one single motif which is made to finish off the whole, and which contrary to one's expectations, arrests it by a horizontal table, the upper surface of a bell-shaped cube (that is, widened from the bottom towards the top) In addition, the arrangement of the door is entirely different, and the principal head exists alone, forming at the same time both the lintel and the pediment of the bay. With the reservation of the extreme crown, this arrangement of the tower is already that of Prambanan, raised in the centre, when the oriental reaction sets in, which was des-

2 Le Vat That de Xaya ; cf. Lajonquiere, 'Rapport sommaire sur neu mission archeologique Cambodge, Siam, Presqu'ile Malaise, Inde, 1907-1908' (*BCAI*, 1909, Fig. 7) ; see also 'Essai d'inventaire archeologique du Siam' (*ibid.*, 1912, pp. 132-37).

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tined to restore the independence of Java : we cannot judge this on the strength of the sanctuaries, whose superstructures have crumbled away, but this is the composition which is indicated by the reductions of buildings with which the high galleries are cantoned.

We have come to the end of our rapid survey of the Hindu arts of the Far East. If we seek what all these monuments have in common, we see that the similarity reduces itself solely to the fact of the sanctuary being enclosed within a tower, generally square, with four bays, artificial ones, or less frequently real ones, outside the necessary entrance, a pile crowned by a pyramid of storeys, which repeat the lower body, at the same time diminishing it more and more, applying the principle of the composition in detail, and in a manner which is almost constant by a successive reduction of the same elements. Again, the square sanctuary with the pyramid appears to be no more than a tradition in one of our arts, especially in Burmese art. There is no other fact which is common to all, except perhaps the tendency to accentuate the corner silhouettes by the showing up of some motif, some particularly important part, antefix roof-cornice or corner finial.

On the other hand, we see that distinct characteristics separate them clearly from one another. Without insisting upon the presence of the marked arch, which is found only in Burmese art, we see in pre-Khmer art the feature of the termination with the two gables, which is more or less peculiar to it, the use of junction galleries being reserved for Classical Khmer art, the very original and typical composition of the door in the two arts of Java.

The similarity in the mass might seem to indicate relationship. We might also say that, if we leave aside the Buddhist —even the Mahayanist—monuments, in the case of which the composition is somewhat different, the same problem might have called for the same solution. The Brāhmaṇical divinity

requires a dwelling place into which only his officiating servant shall penetrate. For this mean and unworthy programme of the power of the god, there is only one solution, and that is to extend this prison in height, and to make a spire of it. This, however, is all that can be done.

The application of the same principles in the composition to this spire, the similarities in detail which are to be seen in both arts, side by side with the profound divergences which exist between them, bring out better the continuity, and the family affinity of these forms. There is one motif which is, among all others, typical from this point of view; and since we have already spoken of the art of the Pallavas, we can trace it back to that art, without, however, affirming—let us insist upon this point—that it was derived from that art.

The *tiruvāci* which frames the door of the Pallavas shows, at the ends of its arch, *makaras* on which a little cavalier is mounted, and their tails are turned up and finished off in detailed ornamental branches, an ancient Indian motif which is to be found as early as on the end of the cross-beams on the *toraṇas* of Sanchi and Barhut and which, by some strange chance, came to be the pattern used on the beams of our Gothic timber-work. The *kūḍus* of the same art show their little arch terminated at the base by *makara* heads turned towards, whilst the upper part of the curve is adorned by a monster's head, the vague head of a lion.

Primitive Cham art has sometimes on the ends of its archivolt, at the base, *makaras* or their brothers, i.e., *gajasiṁhas*, mounted, and turning inward: certain of its arches, or some head-piece, show the three heads.

Cubic art had *makara* heads at the head of the retable of the main tower at Do'ng-du'o'ng, and it is probable that the turned up motif of the branches on the usual pediment of its decorations, clearly visible on that of the same pedestal, is the stereotyped development of a head of this kind.

In its lintel I, pre-Khmer art has the mounted *makara* swallowing or terminating the arch, and in its niche arches, the three heads.

The Indravarman art has the *makara* heads at the extremities of the arch, enclosing its special pediment.

Classical Khmer art shows the *nāga*, a near relative of the *makara*, emerging from the head of a lion and sometimes of a *gajasiṁha*, in the same place, in a constant manner, and its lintel III frequently shows in the centre a lion's head, and *nāgas* at the extremities.

The art of Laos has sometimes, at the ends of an arch framing, a design of birds turning inwards, their long necks being placed like the *makara's* trunk.

The enigmatical edifice of V. Jai of Sukhotai, in ancient Siam, shows the *makaras*, mounted, turning towards, and this motif kept up on the varnish decoration.

The pediment of a window, in the Burmese Nam Paya, is finished off at either end by a monster of the same family.

Lastly, Indo-Javanese art, or the art of the Centre, has its door framed by the three-headed arch, and the art of the East forms its entire lintel by means of the huge main head.

Similarities of this kind cannot possibly be accidental.

In the same way, all these systems of art show a system of ornamentation in branches, which are still less like real foliage than the Greek acanthus leaves ; they are to be seen in India since the very earliest days of structural monuments, and in the feathers of the tail of the Pallava *makaras*. Though the artist is fully capable of executing it, we never find the direct study of a real plant for a continuing decoration, and this conventional ornamentation suffices for all needs.

By a strange fashion, the universality of which cannot be pure chance, these branches often bend in such a way as to evoke the image of some creature which has no connection with

them, and which, in course of time, is scarcely discerned ; we feel that the sculptor is merely taking a delight in evoking it. Often, too, he amuses his branch with little figures (i.e., personages), or special fanciful shapes, as for instance, that particular motif, in which the stalk is the prolongation of the trunk of a monster himself seated astride his own trunk ; this is a quaint fancy which is more peculiar to Classical Khmer art, but the spirit of it recurs also in the other art-systems of this large family.

It is, however, useless to examine in detail all possible examples. Let it suffice to resume this investigation by the two following points : the similarity of the mass, and the continuity of certain details, are evidence of the affinity of the arts in question ; but their diversity reduces this relationship to a vague cousinship.

We know that it is to India that we must go, in our search for the common ancestor. Let us see which groups of monuments in that country showed, with the same mass of the sanctuary with the pyramid of storeys, the characteristics peculiar to each of the derived art-systems, in the sixth or seventh century, this being the earliest period at which these derived arts come to our notice.

The question which has thus been framed, is speedily answered, but in the negative ; artistic India is eminently rich in schools of architecture ; but they flourished after that date. Prior to that date, there are scarcely any structural monuments except those of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra ; besides, nothing is extant but the basements. Were it not for the fact that its decorative forms give it an entirely different aspect, the very type of our sanctuary-tower would not be suspected there. Moreover, we know through the posterior monuments of Kashmir, towards which architectural form this art tended ; it has no connection with ours. Let us note only the characteristic of the chapels ranged along the walls around the central

motif, an arrangement reminiscent of certain alignments of Classical Khmer and of Indo-Javanese art. M. Foucher has given the origin of these isolated chapels ; he sees in them the survival of monastic cells, just as he shows us the filiation of the strange three-lobed arch of this art, in the plan of the small building with the central vault, surrounded by a ring-shaped semi-nave, the arrangement of three naves varying in height, which is found in all these art-systems, and especially in Classical Khmer art.

If we leave aside this art born on the frontiers of the Himalayas, we find only the admirable Buddhist creation of the *stūpas* and the excavated temples, a few rare Gupta monuments, like the small restored temple at Sanchi, or isolated buildings like the sanctuaries of Ter and Chezarla : again, the second of these might, by reason of the character of its decoration, be less ancient than the English archaeologists think.

Apart from these monuments, there is only the famous temple of Bodhgaya, not dated, though now-a-days everyone agrees to attribute it to the sixth century, and the *rathas* at Mahabalipuram, those curved rocks of the seventh century, reductions of sanctuaries constructed with whole-pieces. We must first of all eliminate the temple of Bodhgaya as a common ancestor : nothing could be less similar to this immense tower which is scarcely diminished from the base upwards, than our sanctuaries with their pyramid which is so clearly defined, so well divided into tiers. There only remain, then, the *rathas* of the Pallavas ; and, as we have seen, certain details of their decoration recur in a striking manner in a certain art-system of Indo-China, namely, pre-Khmer art. Nevertheless, even this does not show filiation, for, though the *rathas* may have curious points of resemblance to the earliest monuments of Cambodia, they diverge from them very decisively on an important point : all of these give considerable prominence to the

colonnade, which makes of the figured edifice a construction which is difficult to realize in a robust structure, and the free pillar is missing in pre-Khmer art. Besides, it also disappears with the *rathas* ; at a distance of a hundred yards from the last named, there rises a temple, this time a constructed building, but a century later, and with the same appearance: it no longer shows independent supports. In the same way, all the other monuments built at Kancipuram (Conjeeveram of the British), when they attempt to present the same columns, no longer do so except just to deceive the eye ; the architect makes them lean against the walls.

To anyone who examines these false edifices, so remarkable and so precious, with an unprejudiced mind, their connection with the arts of the Far East appears to be only a very hazy one. The isolated edifice is covered by a series of storeys which proceed to diminish, but these storeys are well marked by rows of pavilions, well separated from the groundwork, in such a manner that there is a circulation behind, and these pavilions are complete elements, distinct from one another, and even of two types, being in nowise a decorative reduction of the whole edifice.

Finally, this art of the *rathas* possesses none of the elements characteristic either of Cham art in its two schools, or of the future Classical Khmer art, or the special door of Java. It should, therefore, be eliminated as a common generator.

Having set aside Pallava art, there is no other art in India left, which could serve as an origin, as the other constructed monuments are all more or less later. But, nevertheless, we have a strong feeling, and the reasons which we have given above show that our instinct is right, that this origin should be sought for, in India itself. How is this anomaly to be explained ?

There is another anomaly, which, so far, we have not mentioned, though we have certainly hinted at it, in connection

with primitive Cham art. We have said that this art appeared already formed in the seventh century, and that in the best form which it was ever destined to attain. Why this sudden efflorescence, if it was not a complete importation from abroad? Campā had been Indian since the third century at least: how comes it that it was not until four centuries after the introduction of deities so deeply venerated and so much feared that people thought of sheltering them? In the same way, pre-Khmer art originated in a country which has been civilised for a long time, and yet it does not appear until the seventh century, at the same time when, in India, the Pallavas were realizing their conception, so kindred in nature, and by that strange combination of rocks carved out into building. The precise date when the Indian art was brought to Cambodia is not known; but the testimony relating to Fou-nan would seem to indicate that it was as early as the first century of the Christian era.[3] No monument in the style of Classical Khmer art is found prior to the Bayon, and that school is manifested all at once by about a hundred monuments, some of them being immense, like Bantay Chmar, without a single detail showing tentative procedure.[4]

Indo-Javanese art, too, appears on the Dieng in a settled, ready-made form, and its most original conception, namely, its splendid three-headed door, does not suffer any more modifications in later monuments. Now, the Dieng edifices belong to the ninth century, though the land had been Indianized long before.

However, temples must have existed in all these countries before those which we have now before us, and even if commonsense itself did not tell us this, the fact would be indicated

3 P. Pelliot, 'Le Fou-nan' in *BEFEO*, Vol. III, p. 290.

4 I do not speak of the altered portions and the repaired parts, which occur throughout the Classical art, if not in all art-systems derived from India.

by the pictures of edifices which are to be seen on a small scale on the walls of the earliest buildings which have come down to us ; although there is scarcely more than one in a pediment at Mi-so'n, in Cham art, we are strongly tempted to see in the decorations of the two Cham forms, small scale reductions of edifices ; these pictures are innumerable on the walls of the buildings of pre-Khmer art, in the bas-reliefs of Borobudur, and in those of the Bayon.

Moreover, we find them again in certain monuments in India, and also in Ceylon, though in this case they are not quite so ancient. And in our various bas-reliefs, they do not appear quite similar to the monuments which bear them. These models present a far greater variety, forms which are often much more delicate, which reappear only after a long time, or which are never found again.

What, then, proves the existence of our monuments, when there is no longer any trace of them in the countries where they formerly stood ? It is simply this : they were lightly constructed, and, having vanished, they have left no traces behind them.

But what do we learn from India itself ? Precisely the existence and the importance of this light construction. It we had not the *rathas* of the seventh century and the underground temples of the early centuries of the Christian era, India would be just as poor in monuments as the arts of the Far East prior to the 7th century : there would remain the heaps of materials which the *stūpas* represent, and that is all : even the very 'railings', so precious for their sculptures, would be absent, for they are merely wooden fences translated into stone. At the very most, like Ceylon, India would offer us basements and rich galleries, if, indeed, this portion had been constituted in such a manner as to be durable.

The common existence of this light architecture both in India and outside India, points out to us where we must seek

the origin of the Indian arts of the Far East : it is only to be found in this light architecture, which in its beginnings was universally used.

I shall now set forth the hypothesis in a few points which I shall amplify later on :

(1) The common element of all the Indian arts of the Far East : (a) is the ancient, lightly constructed art of India ; (b) transported in its primitive form, or in some one of the successive aspects which it must have assumed in India.

(2) This art, thus imported at various stages of its evolution, was developed more or less in each country, and in accordance with the varying conditions.

(3) Once fixed in a form in durable materials, this form was enabled to evolve in its turn, whilst the light art continued a parallel existence side by side with it, and unknown to us, may have on some occasions reacted on the durable form, which latter is the only one which has come down to us.

(4) Some countries, for various reasons, never operated this fixation, and so the light or mixed construction has been maintained throughout. Besides, it has not given us the original primitive type which was imported in the first place, owing to the reactions and the local transformations which have had their effect in the course of so many centuries.

(5) A massive Indian form may have existed ever since the origin in India, and yet at the same time it may be generative in the Far East.

Let us take up once more these different points, making clear the exact value of the terms which we use :

(1) (a) That a lightly constructed architecture must have existed in India, and that, with the exception of the *stūpas*, this architecture must have held an almost exclusive place there, is proved in innumerable ways by the tales told by the Chinese pilgrims and their enthusiastic descriptions of the Buddhist monasteries, with their frequent regrets as to devastating fires ;

as well as the souvenirs of them, which the excavated monuments give us as far as the interior is concerned, and the *rathas* and the figure-work on the 'railings' so far as the exterior is concerned ; a final evidence is the almost complete absence of any vestige of constructed building, at least down to the age of the Guptas. By 'constructed building' I mean any covered space which is not obtained merely by cutting into a natural mass of stone, a rock or isolated block. A heaping-up of materials, such as a *stūpa*, does not, to my mind, correspond to the definition of a building, for, after all, it does not present any real architectural problem, if it is set on a soil firm enough to support it. All the indications which have been collected, refer to lightly constructed buildings, and all the archæologists agree on this essential point.

On the other hand, we should not take 'light construction' in too narrow a sense : the term 'perishable' would really be more correct, except that, in reality, all kinds of architecture are perishable. Indeed, we think that, in India, the buildings were not constructed exclusively of wood, but that the armature was of wood, whilst the filling-in was of bricks, either kutcha or baked, and especially of mud ; the outside appearance and the preservation was assured by means of fashioned varnish.

The presence of curved forms in the Indian coverings does, in fact, require mud, supported by a skeleton and protected by tenacious varnishes, and I-tsing gives us the recipe for it in a valuable passage on the temple of Nālānda.[5] Almost any form can be executed in this fashion, and certain ones among them, which are impossible in stone, for instance in the wide stretches, are quite easy to execute in this manner. But this architecture may not have been unique. It is even admissible that baked bricks may have been used for the supporting walls.

5 I-tsing. *Religieux Eminents*, trans. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, p. 87.

Architecture of this kind, like the recent architecture of Laos, which uses this material for its thin walls, but supports it above the bays on stout wooden beams, is about to disappear without leaving any trace behind. In a fire, or even by the effect of time, the roofs collapse, the walls are reduced to a few isolated sections which are unstable, and from which all the decorative work has become loosened. A few years after the ruin or the fire, nothing would be recognizable.

It is not even possible completely to cast aside from the hypothesis, the construction in pisé or of crude brick walls. Left unprotected, the unbaked earth would not have been any use ; but a good varnish, carefully applied, can make the whole structure practically everlasting. Besides, we have a proof of the use of these systems in Gandhāra, and after a conflagration some portions of masonry and clay earth-work were preserved, which were hardened only in an accidental furnace.[6] This thick masonry was capable of receiving real vaults, or of bearing light coverings of the last-named construction. The use of unbaked bricks or of pisé, leads to forms almost identical with those used in the construction with strong materials. However, the lack of support brings about an almost complete disappearance, and if left alone, the edifice returns to the earth whence it came, without leaving the slightest trace of its ephemeral existence. This is doubtless what happened in Bengal, and it is possible that massive, vaulted architecture gave rise to Burmese art.

(b) There is nothing to prove that this primitive architecture was identical all over India which may have been swarming with new forms, and the model which the *rathas* translate for us is of entirely different aspect from the countless forms figured in the bas-reliefs of the 'railings'.

Moreover, the evangelization of the countries adjoining

6 Cf. *BEFEO*, Vol. XXII, p. 237.

India may have taken place at various periods, and at various points of expansion. Indeed, this is the most likely.

(2) We may therefore presume that the initial elements imported into countries outside India, on one or several occasions, in circumstances which no doubt varied, must have developed or regressed in ways which varied just as widely; the influence of conditions and of the customs of local construction may also have helped to modify the derivation. I think I have shown this to be true in the case of Java, and it seems probable that much the same thing is true of Classical Khmer art: it is given by the presence of pointed gables like those of Vat Phu, which, by their concave curve, are nearer to the Laos roof than to the present-day Cambodian roof.

(3) This imported architecture must certainly have been translated into a strong material, otherwise it could not have come down to us, either by itself, or by the pictures left on durable walls. Fortunately, the case of Ceylon, where the only souvenir of important edifices is a quincunx of countless stone columns, is rare. A partial evolution, since the time of comparative fixation, was inevitable, though undoubtedly involuntary. The history of Cham art shows a striking example of this.

(4) We have seen that wherever this imported architecture was one day fixed in strong materials, it still remained susceptible to influences by the fashions of local construction. It is consequently very likely that in countries where no form was fixed in strong materials, the imported architecture melted into the previous architecture.[7] This seems to be the case with China, Korea and Japan, and partly with Laos, the light architecture of Cambodia, Siam and Burma, and perhaps of Nepal.

7 Strictly speaking, religions and religious sculpture may have been transported, without carrying with them a corresponding architecture.

The frequent inclination of overhanging walls from the base to the top towards the exterior, which does not occur in ancient India, may have survived thus, in certain points. The turning-up of the corners of the roofs, which was for a long time erroneously attributed to China, and which is a plain case of the accentuation of the outlines, may be a part of the Indian importations : though it does not seem to have been a part of the first Buddhist architecture, this accentuation is too general not to have a common origin ; perhaps it belongs to primitive India. As regards the multiplication of the artificial storeys, which does not, I think, appear among the savages of the Far East, and which presents many useless difficulties of execution, it is likely that it came from India, where the custom of multiplying the storeys of the *vihāra* and of superposing parasols over the *stūpa*, was a common thing.

(5) Even if there ever existed in Indian art, at some far-off period, a massive form in unbaked bricks, the light form would have been easier to transport than the first-named. Whether he be a merchant or an apostle, or even a conqueror, the new colonist has neither the time nor the resources at his disposal to build in durable materials from the very outset. Colonists must be settled for some considerable time among the uncivilized before they can call in the necessary skilled artisans to give the indispensable help in dressing masonry work ; and even at the period of fixation, it is not possible to accomplish many works ; Classical Khmer art and Cham art offer us only too many examples of this.

By way of conclusion, it is not certain that we possess the totality of forms which may have been exported from India, for it is possible that we do not know all that existed in the colonizing country in those ancient times of such perishable structures. Indeed, it appears that there was infinite variety in Indian art, which is not surprising when we call to mind the exuberance of Hindu thought, and if we consider the facility

which was given by the material utilized. In the bas-reliefs of Borobudur, we recognize a series of forms which recur at various ages of Indo-Javanese architecture. It seems that all these forms were preserved in their latent state, or rather that they did not cease to be maintained in the contemporary light architecture : it was a mere question of fashion which caused them to be preferred at a given moment, and to be translated into a strong material, leaving the others to lose themselves, without a trace left behind, today.

Now you will say, is all this mere hypothesis ? I am the first to agree with you in this ; but if in a question for which there is no direct solution, the hypothesis explains the main facts, it has already done a great deal ; and, unless the contrary can be proved, the hypothesis is deserving of consideration. Our hypothesis seems possible when taken as a whole. Is it valid in the details too ? First of all, it implies the necessity of the existence of a light architecture in India—everyone admits it—and of its transference to the Indian colonies : it was certainly necessary to house either Buddhist monks or Brāhmanical gods. That presents no difficulty. The important thing is to know whether all the architectures of the Far East can admit of a similar origin, and whether the system successfully applied outside India permits to clear up in India itself the difficulties which still obscure the history of the architecture.

In Cham art, we have shown that this transcription was not only possible, but that it was indeed necessary, and we shall be content to refer to that demonstration, which is supported by eloquent figures.[8]

We have made only this one reservation, and we still maintain it, namely, that the cubic art calls up rather the souvenir of a mixed architecture, with thick walls and light covering, the Indian origin of which is equally possible.

8 Cf. *IC*, Vol. II, pp. 489ff.

Pre-Khmer art is not rebellious either : the rich form is perhaps more easily seen in the mixed construction, and the simple form in the light architecture ; and the majority of the reductions of edifices attached to the walls can scarcely, in their models, be conceived otherwise than as light or mixed edifices.

There was in the country a very long-standing custom of erecting brick temples ; therefore the problem of origin is not applicable to the edifices of Indravarman art ; moreover the graceful niches of Bakong and Lolei show that the tradition of a delicate light architecture was still flourishing ; they are clearly reminiscent of a building with a pyramid, with small storeys. But Classical art seems to bring in a stone tradition more original in form, for the first Hindu theme underwent a profound modification when it came into contact with local influences which are inaccessible today. It appears that Northern Cambodia, which apparently restored calm at the end of the eighth century to its own advantage, first of all developed a form of light architecture also imported from India, but which must have been very much modified on the spot. The galleries, which were scarcely hinted in the art of Sambor-Prei Kuk, now assumed tremendous importance, and in the decorative designs, the *nāga*, which has always been very prominent in this art from the very outset, was substituted instead of the *makara*. Examples of this ancient light architecture are to be found in the bas-reliefs of the Bayon : they do indeed present curious grouped towers, in which some have supposed they saw the image of Ankor Vat, constructed two centuries later. This assimilation is unlikely ; it would imply an enormous period of time for the execution of these bas-reliefs, and so long a continuance seems scarcely possible, in view of the fact that all the rest of the decoration and the personages show a homogeneous spirit and a very different character from the sculpture of the famous temple.

Let us call to mind here, that a creation form, in appearance very far removed from execution in a light construction, like the motif of the large heads of the Bayon, of Bantay Chmar, of the door of Ankor Thom and of the central sanctuary of the Pr. Prah Stun, seems to be extant already in the ancient temple of Nālandā, in reference to which I-tsing mentions heads of the size of a man, on the top of the buildings.[9]

In the case of Laos art, the question is answered in advance by the very fact that it is a mixed, rather light, architecture : how far it is evolved, for instance, is shown by its peculiar aspect ; the miracle is that any ancient elements are discernible in it.

With Burma, we are face to face with an entirely different question, and as far as the large monuments are concerned, the problem of a filiation of light architecture does not arise. In the other arts, the walls can be enormous as compared with the central void, but that void still appears as the basis of the whole. Here the mass exists for its own sake, as in the case of the *stūpa*, which, by the way, has given rise to splendid and formidable compositions in this country.

The presence at one and the same time of the vault and the superior *śikhara* identical with the Indo-Aryan *śikharas*, allows us to connect this architecture with that of Northern India, with which region Burma had dealings before the eleventh century.*

It is well known that the great valleys of Northern India are not provided by Nature with building stone, and that the

9 Cf. *BEFEO*, Vol. X, p. 206, note 1.

*[Really Burma must have come under Indian cultural influence many centuries earlier. The Indianised Candras ruled Arakan from the fourth century A.D. Chinese chronicles of the third century speaks of the large Buddhist population of the kingdom of Lin-yang located in Central Burma. Such early contacts between India and Burma are also indicated by Indian traditions.—Ed.]

only ancient monuments which we have in that region, were executed in baked bricks. They were in existence at the same time as those splendid convents in the light architectural style, whose beauties the Chinese pilgrims admire, and the loss of which by fire they deplore. The formidable tower of Bodhgayā is one of these masonry edifices. In the auxiliary vaults which it shows in the interior, some people have believed they saw a Burmese restoration, so foreign does a dressed vault seem to ancient India. There is, however, no reason for admitting this as later introduction,[10] for we see in the same region, on the ancient edifice of Bhitargaon,[11] dated to the seventh century by Cunningham and to the fifth century by Vogel, the same arches executed in the same way.

It seems that, in Burma in those curious heapings of materials, there is confusion between the *stūpa*, or even its basements, and the edifice itself, whether temple or monastery. Thus there is no relationship, and we might almost say there is a contrast, between the external aspect, which seems to indicate plain walls reinforced by pilasters at the corners, covered by a light terrace as in Ceylon, and pierced by bays on the dentated pediments and the massiveness of the interior. It is, as it were, an independent piece of work, stuck on to a cube of complete masonry. The Indo-Aryan *śikhara*, which is often substituted for the high *stūpa* erected in the centre, will be examined later on. Here, the filiation with the art of India is not evident, and but for the presence of the *śikhara*, it could not be claimed. It implies the previous existence, either in the country itself or in the parent country, of a massive architecture which had vanished

10 Moreover, so great a trouble in construction, and so delicate a revival in masonry of so great a height, seem unlikely. When an accidental restoration takes place in the East, it is never anything more than an external replastering ; the parts which are not to be seen, are never the object of any considerable labour.

11 Cf. *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1908-09, p. 5 and Pls. I-V.

without leaving a trace. Moreover, this is merely an aside—a side issue—as far as our subject is concerned. However, even here, our subject finds a further confirmation in the existence of towers with four bays, which are in keeping with the general Indian spirit, and by their presence in the background behind many doors of these massive buildings.

In its reductions of edifices, Indo-Javanese art presents an architectural type already much evolved in its passage to Śrīvijaya, and which can still be translated, when occasion requires it, into the light construction ; most frequently the mixed construction seems to suit it best. I have previously dealt with this question in detail.[12] It is impossible to know whether the curious three-headed door also came from India, which would not be very strange in a land which once made the formidable entrance to an underground temple out of the jaws of a monster, and whether the motif of the three heads only grew around the lintel. There is no real difficulty in the way of the filiation of the light Indian architecture.

Let us now, at length, return to India, and, without losing our way in the labyrinth of new divisions into which the lack of a general survey has led the re-editors of the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, let us see whether those of the old classification by Fergusson can trace their origin back to the perishable construction.

The problem does not apply to the Buddhist architecture of the excavated temples, and the interpretation of these as being of light construction, is an accomplished fact. I shall only mention one detail, to which, in my opinion, people do not attach sufficient importance : that is, the conception of the nave with a cylindrical vault. People speak about them as if it were an ordinary construction, in which independent

12 Cf. 'L'Architecture figureé dans les bas-reliefs de Java' (*BEFEO*, Vol. VIII, pp. 46ff.).

columns bear a vault simply placed upon them. Such a conception is difficult to admit, and the extraordinary nearness of the columns would have no meaning whatsoever in this case. If the light vault were independent of its supports there would be no reason to place them so close together, and a broad architecture bay would comfortably support this vault from one column to the other. The *caitya* of Bhaja shows us that we must interpret the Indian conception in quite a different manner. The columns, very simple and without capitals, incline towards the interior, and prolong the stones directly beneath the arch, which are themselves oblique. This vault is an elastic vault made with a framework of wooden bands such as the maker of grottoes never forgets ; he made a special point of hooking them on to the vault, so necessary did they seem to him. But the very fact of their being suspended, deprives them of their true function. In reality, these bands which can conceive as pieces of wood bent or put together with crossed joints like the timbers of a keel, are prolonged by the column itself, with which they form one whole. The whole construction cannot be put out of shape, like the famous structure of Philibert de l' Orme, and constitutes elements similar to the curved pieces which are struck into the ground for the game of croquet, and on to which you may place your foot without their losing their shape. The lateral semi-vault stops the tendency to open out the intermediate bands implanted in the architecture.

We have little information as to the internal arrangement of the *vihāras,* for we have practically nothing beyond literary descriptions, confirmed by a study of the excavated halls and the later *rathas*. Certain Chinese texts indicate very clearly that the arrangement was pyramidal, and the investigation of the *rathas* confirms this. This arrangement is in opposition to the excavated *vihāras*, the cells of which are placed one above the other, and it is in contrast to the spirit presented by the

numerous facades of dwellings which are pictured in the bas-reliefs of the 'railings'. Besides, the arrangement in the South does not in any way correspond to these descriptions, and the *rathas* show the cells in isolated pavilions, separated from the central common surveillance hall by a daylight corridor, whilst the texts, and the *caityas* which have been dug out, present the cells ranged in a continuous line around the hall itself. Of course, both forms are possible, and both of them could lend themselves to the light pyramidal construction at the cost of encumbering the common halls by a forest of columns.

Let us now pass on to the various architectural schools of India. There is no doubt that the *vimānas* of the South began in the light construction, aud were translated by the *rathas*, and we shall not dwell on this.

The same cannot be said of the Indo-Aryan *śikhara*, and to this day its origin has remained a mystery.

This problem is further complicated by the fact that dates are rare in this group, and that the only buildings for which a definite period can be given, are the most recently built, i.e., those of the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Moreover, whilst the Dravidian temples can be assigned to a clearly marked area of their own, *śikharas* appear dispersed in several series in the north of India, separated by a large tract, in that country devasted by the Muslim conquest.

Three hypotheses have been put forward to explain this curious composition, about which so much ink has already been used. Burgess[13] explains this form as the most rational to constitute a high ogival vault with horizontal joints. But this conception gives to the care of the construction a prominent place which it never seems to have had in Indian art; this conception takes the high interior chimney, which general-

13 Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, Vol. I, new ed., p. 325.

ly appears merely as a necessity, and which is concealed by a ceiling, and makes it the starting-point for the external form, which it then translates very badly to the top. In short, this conception does not explain the rapid change from the square section of the tower to the circular plan of the crown.

Choisy's hypothesis[14] is far more attractive at first sight. In his view, the *śikhara* translates an ancient piling up of thick planks, on the top of which is placed the considerable weight of a stone *āmalaka*. Unfortunately, this hypothesis does not rest on any tradition, or any certain fact, and there are many difficulties in its way. First of all, it raises an initial material objection which is considerable : there is nothing in the composition to recall that interlacing of the ends of beams, in itself so decorative, and which could not have failed to furnish an important ornamental motif. The hypothesis also supposes the improbable persistence of a type of construction in wood which is very primitive, and even barbarous, side by side with the learned wood-work which the bas-reliefs reveal to us ; a system which would have necessitated, by the way, a huge quantity of wood in a country of great plains, where wood would be rather rare.

The hypothesis would only become plausible if it could be proved, either that the type is one of the oldest, and dates from the earliest habitation of the Aryans, or else that, born later, it originates in the mountainous regions where the great forests stand. Now it is an insurmountable difficulty that no representation of these very striking forms ever appears in the bas-reliefs, and these *śikharas* are seen only very seldom in the mountains of the North.

The third hypothesis is the one put forward by Vincent A. Smith.[15] It is that the origin of the *śikhara* should be

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14 A. Choisy, *Histoire de L'Architecture*, Paris, 1899, Vol. II, p. 160.

15 Cf. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 78 and 24, and Fig. 7.

sought in the bamboo framework of the cars which are used to take the statues of the deities in procession.* However, this is surely reversing the roles. It is conceivable that a car would be made in imitation of the temple, and there are excellent specimens in the South, in stone copies.[16] Thus the god is not out of his natural sphere when he is taken out in procession, and he is in a frame worthy of him. Besides, it is the custom in all lands to borrow the form of the triumphal cars from architecture, and the European Mid-lent cavalcades are really the same thing. But to create the temple in the image of the car is disconcerting, and could scarcely be explained among nomadic ancient peoples. That would be to suppose that the god inhabited a house on wheels for a long time, before being established in an immovable temple. Besides, if the car is the earlier structure, why did it adopt precisely this special form in preference to any other ? Is it the normal type of an Indian chariot ? Not at all. Is there even one single picture of a vehicle of this kind, in the bas-reliefs in India or elsewhere ? No. All the cars belonging ro Sanchi, Amaravati, Borobudur, or Ankor, are of an entirely different character ; they are copies of local architecture, or they present a logical form which we should expect, which, as at the present day, shelters the chariot by a light roof, curved, in the shape of a cylindrical vault or a dome, supported by a few slender upright posts . Let us add, that there are few combinations less stable for a car than that of the *śikhara*, with its great height : it only remains for the heavy *āmalaka* to be placed upon it, and the car would indeed be bound to topple over and have a bad fall.

* [The *śikhara* is a Northern characteristic, while the *ratha-yātrā* of deities seems to be a Dravidian custom popular in South India. Introduction of *ratha-yātrā* to East India appears to have been due to royal families hailing from the South.—Ed.]

16 Cf. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. XI, p. 403.

This hypothesis is a good type of the easy explanation, seductive at first sight, but, when pressed closer, tells us nothing at all.

In reality, this type of construction would remain incomprehensible, if its genesis were not illumined by a parallel evolution of Indian arts abroad. In Campā we see the rise of curvilinear pyramidal forms like those of the temples at Banaras, the last word in the lineage of the *śikharas* ; but we do not know their starting point or the intermediary stages ; it is for us to apply to this, the method of research. In Campā, the corner finial which adorns the sanctuary-towers is at the beginning a small edifice with clearly defined storeys, and finishes in a bulbous curvilinear pyramid, after having passed through the form of a pinnacle with multiple horizontal grooves, a clear souvenir of the original storeys.[17] On the other hand, there is one fact which is surprising in the history of Dravidian art. It is the rapidity of the evolution of the architectural forms, and their tendency to multiply the storeys constantly, so that these storeys very soon attain to prodigious numbers. This multiplication, whilst reducing their individual importance, soon has the effect of making them almost imperceptible. There, too, is a striking indication ; but we must retain the principle only, and abstract the example. The easy interpretation of the Mahabalipuram *rathas* as *saṅghārāmas* has too quickly satisfied the archaeologist; it shows us the *saṅghārāma* in the type with multiple independent pavilions like the necessary building. We have shown that it was not necessarily unique.

What vanished form should then be evoked ? A certain number of *śikharas*, which, by reason of their decorative details, seem to be very ancient, for instance those at Masrur,[18] Kira-

17 Cf. *IC*, Vol. II, pp. 157-63.

18 The temples of Masrur, still monolithic, are attributed by Hargreaves (*Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R , 1915-16) to the eighth or ninth century A. D. ; this date seems to be rather too late, if we judge by the archaic character of the motif of heads in the middle of the pediments, as well as the rest of the decorative sculpture. This praiseworthy timidity is precisely a consequence of the doubts as to the history of the *śikhara*.

grama[19] and Nirmand[20] afford us in their composition an element which is most characteristic, and which will put us on the road to the solution which we seek.

The first-named show on their surface a series of small arches, arranged in horizontal rows. These are similar to the *kūḍus* of Dravidian art, and like them, they are undoubtedly the offspring of the countless horse-shoe bays of the ancient light architecture. Other *śikharas* present a series of horizontal embossments, an exceptional thing in the whole of Indian art. When we take into consideration the appalling rapidity with which this detail multiplied in the art, we are inclined to see the starting-point of the *śikharas* in the translation into strong materials, of a *saṅghārāma* either light or mixed, with multiple superposed storeys, almost equal in size (i.e., breadth), and pierced by multiple curved windows, of the type of those to which we are accustomed in that ancient art. These storeys, already numerous in reality, probably became so very numerous when they became purely decorative in function, that finally they were no higher than a stone layer, a plain embossment or a row of tiny arches.

This is mere fancy do you say ? What is needed in order to make it a reality ? Three conditions : 1. Light monuments must have existed, accumulating storeys with equal sections, one above the other. 2. These transitory buildings must one day have been translated into permanent materials. 3. A suffi-

19 Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Fig. 165, p. 299.

20 Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet' (*Arch. Surv. Ind.*, New Series, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, Calcutta, 1914, Pl. V a). This *śikhara* with storeys still in tiers, like the buildings of Indo-Khmer art, shows on the pediment of its door a similar reduction of a building, but in light construction, as is shown by its free supporting pillars. At every three terraces, this small scale reduction has the window with the projecting archivolt (with extra cuttings), in the ancient Indian style. The door leads us to connect this monument with Gupta art.

cient period of time must have elapsed for this mad multiplication to have come about.

Nos. 1 and 2. See the pictures of light constructions in the ancient bas-reliefs ; they never look like our suites of cell-pavilions in Dravidian monuments, but are always like buildings with ordinary storeys, furnished with balustrades and large windows. We have this combination on a large scale and with numerous storeys, on the two reveals of the *caitya* at Karli.[21] What is more, it affords us the already evolved form of the temple of Bodhgayā, which all agree in attributing to the sixth century, and which, up to that time, was not connected with anything else. Even the unfortunate English restoration has not succeeded in obliterating the traces of the innumerable niches in the windows of the multiple storeys. Upon this high pyramidal trunk, whose breadth scarcely diminishes as it rises upwards, there is a motif, which is not the *āmalaka*, but which is round like it, and which, like it, does not very well harmonise with the rest of the building. The monument at Bhitargaon affords another instance of this kind of building. Such buildings have, therefore, managed to exist, and were, at least on two occasions, translated into durable materials.

No. 3. Less than ten centuries, namely, from the seventh to the seventeenth century, were needed, for the art of the South to pass from the *ratha*, with rare and well-defined storeys, though cut up into independent pavilions, to the large *gopuras*, in which the feeling for the countless storeys is almost non-existent. Here we are face to face with sumptuous stone witnesses, which are lasting, and the presence of which would tend to stabilize the aspect of the buildings by tradition, which is an all-powerful factor in the East.

As far as the decoration is concerned, the evolution of the *saṅghārāma* with continuous storeys, must have begun with the

21 Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, in *ASI*, Vol. I, Pl. I b.

construction of the first light monasteries in the North. It is impossible today to find out at what precise monument the strict relationship between the interior and the external aspect was lost ; but we may assume that this kind of rationalism must soon have yielded to the need for ostentation, and that the ancient buildings, like the palaces and *pagodas* of Mandalay today, must soon have made the super-position of storeys, an impressive decorative design, rather than a functional reality : the monks could inhabit one or two floors easier of access in a part which kept normal height, the future body of the *śikhara*, whilst the artificial storeys were piled on above by way of decoration. In the sixth century, when the immense tower of Bodhgayā was erected, their real meaning was already completely lost ; for the whole of this transformation is accomplished in light architecture, in which, owing to the reconstructions, the chances of transformations were all the more frequent. Neither must we forget that Northern India had a preference for the use of dried or baked bricks, stucco and potter's clay, materials which of themselves favour multiplication and reduction of ornamental motifs. We may, then, admit without much difficulty that all the evolution[22] was accomplished before the ninth century or the tenth, the date which is admitted for the most ancient and most characteristic *śikharas* of Orissa, such as the Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar.[23]

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22 The examples, previously cited, seem to recommend our setting the date of this evolution still much further back. As is always the case, less evolved types subsisted side by side with types in which the evolution had advanced much further.

23 Side by side with the monolithic *śikharas* of Masrur, we did not mention those of two temples in the western region of India, *cliché's* of which have been published in the reports of the Arch. Surv. (Western Circle) for the years 1919 and 1920. Both are Gupta temples; the second is considered late because of the presence of the *śikhara* covering (Nachna, Pls. XVI and XVII, 1919), whilst the *śikhara* of the first one (Sankargadh, Pl. XXVII, 1920) is considered, though without any proof, as an addition of the eleventh century. In appearance, it is identical with the superstructures of many buildings of pre-Khmer art of the seventh century.

The presence of real *śikharas* in the centre of Burmese monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which appear to have been influenced especially by Bengal, and which could not be explained hitherto, is a confirmation of this system. They are distinguishable from those in India only by the absence of the *āmalaka* ; in this art, as in the temple of Bodhgayā, it is replaced by the heavy-ringed pinnacle. a well known souvenir of the parasols of the *stūpas ;* this pinnacle, according to a custom prevalent in Buddhist art, was indicated in order to crown the *saṅghārāma* of the light construction, with multiple storeys of the same horizontal section.

Though this *āmalaka* does not seem to be necessary, it is essential for the solidity of our thesis that should take due uote of it. We see the *āmalaka* placed either as a crown of the *śikhara,* or as a lateral motif, interrupting the row of embossments. There are, then, two cases to be considered. Moreover, the *āmalaka* must be examined from two points of view ; for the individual form, identical in both of its positions, and for its exaggerated mass when it is used to form the crown-piece.

Its form in itself is not new ; it appears in Gupta art as the element of a capital ; it constitutes a crown at the entrance to Grotto No. 19 of Ajanta,[24] and an intermediate lateral element in a graceful niche in that of Viśvakarman at Ellora, both being of the fifth or sixth century A.D. The flattened sphere in the Gupta art has slender facets, or is fluted (grooved) ; in the *āmalaka* it is ribbed : there is nothing difficult about the transition. Let us note, too, that Classical Khmer art also presents a lotus crown with many convex petals, which is very similar in form to the *āmalaka.*[25] Its presence on the sides, appears

24 Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, Pl. X.

25 Cf. Fournereau, *Les Ruines d'Angkor*, Paris, 1890, Pl. 45. The restitution is guaranteed by the presence at the top of the tower, of an inverted block which we have since had replaced. See also the 'Cham Monument at Van-tu'o'ng' (which is Khmer in spirit), in *IC*, Pls. XLIV–XLVI.

to us on the Chandi Bhima on the Dieng, in Java, which must date from the ninth century. This is, then, a motif which is prevalent both in Indian art and in the derivatives of it.

The exaggerated dimensions of the *āmalaka* as a crown no longer astonish us, when we see the size of the terminal motif of the towers of Van-tu'o'ng, in Campā ;[25] it will be still less surprising, if we admit that, like the dome-shaped finial motif of the Southern buildings, it remained independent of the law of reduction which applied to the usual storeys.

All the complications which the *śikhara* subsequently presents in India, such as the repetitions of the original whole on a more or less reduced scale all along its surfaces, are nothing but a few of those infinite variations in which the plethoric art of that country always abounds. A curious building, whose composition shows mixed art, the Telikā Mandir of Gwalior, on a rectangular plan, and having the elongated covering which we see in certain buildings of the South, shows all the varied elements of that Northern art, reduced *śikharas* and last bay arches, parents of those at Ajanta and Ellora.

An evolution of the same nature as that in Campā must have continued ; and forms with multiple embossment, tender and with a smooth surface, at the same time as the multiplication of the initial motif, must have surrounded the curvilinear pyramid thus obtained by a swarm of tiny little pyramids ; this is, indeed, what the last monuments of the *śikhara* family, the temples of Benares, almost modern, do show us.

In short, as far as we are concerned, the origin of the Northern *śikhara* may be said to be the same as that of the Southern *vimāna* ; the large storeyed *saṅghārāma* of the light construction of early Buddhist art ; but, whereas the Southern monument must have repeated a form of that *saṅghārāma* in

which the cells of each level were dealt with in isolated pavilions, and in which each storey diminished in breadth in proportion as it rose in height, the Northern monument probably copied a simpler building : in the uniformly sized storeys of the latter, the small adjacent chambers were only visible on the facade of their windows just in the same way as the rooms in the current construction, which we see in so many bas-reliefs of olden times on the 'railings'. The detachment of the pavilions towards the back led, in the first instance, straightaway to the pyramidal form in the art of the South, whereas the superposition of the equal-sized storeys in the art of the North, caused buildings which we might almost call 'sky-scrapers'. But at the time when the Southern art was born and developed, thanks to the *rathas* and to the stone edifices, almost under our very eyes, in the North the preparatory evolution between the simple initial form and the final term, the *śikhara*, must have been accomplished during that period of light construction—so dark as far as we are concerned—during the first centuries of Buddhism and the beginnings of the new Brāhmaṇism ; in that case we can see only the last complications of the type which was formed, because in the North it would not have been translated into durable materials until its evolution had pretty nearly been completed, at the very same time when in the South, the first transcription was taking place in the *rathas* at Mahabalipuram, in the seventh or eighth century.[26]

This theory explains the oddity of the close proximity of the two types at Pattadakal, without our being compelled to call in the gratuitous and risky hypothesis of the foundation of a Northern prince near a monument erected according to the normal type in the South. There is nothing against the two types having existed side by side, in the light architecture or

26 Cf. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. LIX.

the mixed architecture, at the same time, and having been translated at the same period into stone.

The *maṇḍapa* accompanies the *śikhara* from the very first day, and this is a further indication of the antiquity of the *śikhara*, for the *vimāna* was not completed in this fashion in the South until long after its birth. By way of an intentional contrast, it is another form of the *saṅghārāma* which is used here, namely, that with the cells joined, but in a pyramid. By way of contrast, too, it is kept very low ; the small storeys are reduced abruptly, and are finally no more than plain slats : the appearance is like that of a Venetian shutter lying down, at such an angle that its slats are horizontal. A good example of this curious combination is afforded by the temple of the Sun at Konarak (Orissa).

The *śikhara* and the *maṇḍapa* present a special arrangement: the central mass remains square, but, as Fergusson has very well pointed out, the facades bulge out by reason of a series of redents which cause the plan to be enclosed in a diamond shape. This arrangement is easily explained by our hypothesis : those immense and tedious vertical walls with their identical stripings of storeys had to be varied ; instead of the nervy projections formed by the horizontal tiers of the pyramidal monastery, the *śikhara* gives the vertical redents, which, by the play of the light, give an equally pleasing effect.

The Cālukya art is seen from the first glance in two—the Dravidian *vimāna* and the Indo-Aryan *śikhara*. It combines the Northern plan with the storeyed pavilions of the South ; but this fusion is only a decoy, at least in the genesis of the forms. In reality, in the Northern art, the vertical superposition, which makes a sugar-loaf mass of the whole of the *śikhara*, counts far more than the slashing of the plan, and, if the origin of Cālukya art was due to a combination of the two types, it is this high form which must have given the new conceptions

their character; independence is affirmed by an important detail: the reduction of the *śikhara* does not appear in the decoration of the Cālukya temple. It therefore seems more probable that there took place in the domain of this art, almost in the centre of India, the development in light architecture of a system of architecture presenting the same tendencies to the complication of the plan, as that of the North with the pyramidal system of the rows of independent cells, these cells are placed on each redent. The system of successive reduction brings in its train the multiplication of the arises, and the whole finishes with a multitude of small verticals and weak masses of curved roofs. As in the *vimāna* of the South, the topmost cell, which is not reduced in the order of those on the storeys, becomes consuming. Here, too, the *maṇḍapa* is never absent, and it is even combined with several sanctuaries on two axes, to form an extremely complicated composition.

We shall insist neither on the admirable system of ceilings of Mount Abu, the interpretation of which in finely sculptured wood is imposing, nor on the curious translation of the roof by bamboos bent in both directions, which produced the modern temple in Bengal: it was sufficient to mention them, for there is nothing to guarantee their antiquity of origin, and their fortunes have been local. There is another type of architecture, this time entirely in wood, which is more deserving of mention, for it has preserved in a clear manner the system of the super-position of storeys, which are here reduced to their roofs only. It is in Nepal that this type has been maintained with the special detail, so curious and frequent in the ancient constructions of the country, of walls inclined from the base upwards and towards the outside,[27] which General de Beylie graphically described as 'like a bread-pan'. This arrangement

27 For both, see *ibid.*, pp. 281–82.

recurs in Java,[28] in Campā, in Laos, and in Burma, that is, in places very far removed from India ; this arrangement could only have originated in a light architecture. As to the suites of roofs superposed in diminishing order on one and the same vertical axis, no arrangement is less natural. It is hardly possible to execute it with such delicacy in any, but a light construction, and we find it again in this way only in those countries where the light construction has retained actual importance, that is, in Burma, Laos, Siam, Korea and Japan. Moreover, it is partly confused with the gratuitous super-position of the parasols above the Buddha, and the two decorative systems have upheld one another in the artistic taste of the devout.

In conclusion, the whole question can be presented thus ; Indian architecture, both in the country of origin and in its expansion abroad, must have originated in the development of the first light architecture of Buddhism. When Brāhmaṇism gradually took the place of Buddhism, it probably borrowed from that religion the only monument which would suit its special cult, namely, the storeyed *vihāra*. However, several solutions had been given to the delicate problem of lodging independently numerous monks in the same building :

(1) The *saṅghārāma* with storeys practically equal in surface, with adjacent cells arranged around superposed rooms with indirect lighting or lighted on axes, an arrangement which was really translated in the excavated monuments, and as a pure masonry decoration in the tower at Bodhgayā ; (2) the *saṅghārāma* with decreasing storeys of adjacent cells, arranged around a common room, lighted on axes ; and (3) the *saṅghārāma* with storeys decreasing in breadth, with independent cells in pavilions, arranged around a common room lighted and aired directly, an arrangement which was perhaps more suitable to hot districts, and thence to Southern India.

28 Cf. 'L'Architecture interprete'e dans les Bas-reliefs Anciens de Java' (*BEFEO*, Vol. VII, Fig. 118, Pl. V).

All these buildings, which vied with one another in height, and were an object of emulation for rich donors, must have lost much of their architectural truth during the long period when Buddhism was triumphant, and soon enough presented storeys which were purely decorative, perched above those which were actually inhabited.

These new light compositions, thus constituted, whether in India proper or abroad, must have met with diverse fortunes later on.

The last composition, pyramid-shaped with separate pavilions, translated in the *ratha* of Dharmarāja at Mahabalipuram, probably endangered the whole of Dravidian architecture, but that architecture alone and no other.

The first composition, with sky-scraper storeys, must have accomplished its entire decorative evolution before it began to be translated into a durable construction. It must then have given the immense family of the *śikharas*, as sanctuaries themselves, in India, as a central accessory motif to Burma.

The type with the decreasing storeys but adjacent cells must have had by far the greatest fortune ; it must have presented itself in four aspects. On a simple rectangular plan with axial bays, we are indebted to it for half of pre-Khmer art and a portion of primitive Cham art, as well as the libraries of Classical Khmer art ; on a simple square plan, we are indebted to it for the Tat Mahal Prasada in Ceylon, the other portion of pre-Khmer art and of primitive Cham art, cubic Cham art, and almost all Indo-Javanese art ; on a redented rectangular plan, the Teḷikā mandir in Gwalior ; on a redented square plan, in India, the *maṇḍapa* of Indo-Aryan art and the whole of Cālukya art ; abroad Classical Khmer art, the isolated edifices of Burmese art, and a goodly number of *thats* of the same art, as well as Laos and Siamese *thats*.

Summing up, and it would not be among the least conse-

quences of the theory which we put forward, if it were to obtain the assent of the majority of Orientalists—a luxuriant mass of Indian constructions, from the most remote periods down to modern times, from the Gulf of Oman to the islands of the Pacific, form but one family; the thought underlying Indian architecture would appear to be one, in spite of the extraordinary divergences which have been produced by time and by innumerable influences; and the three main forms of that prodigious art have their sole origin in one of the first edifices of the ancient Buddhist world, namely, the venerable *saṅghārāma* wood, of the most ancient communities.

LECTURES AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY[1]

XIX

Lecturer : Dr. Mrs. Rosane Rocher, Research Fellow, National Foundation for Scientific Research, Belgium.

Subject : N. B. Halhed, an Early Student of Indian Culture.

Date : Thursday, the 19th February, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M. A. ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. S.R. Das, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. K.K. Dasgupta, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL. B. ; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B. A. ; Prof. Ludo Rocher (University of Pennsylvania, U. S. A.) ; and others.

Summary : Dr. Mrs. Rocher started her talk with a reference to Warren Hastings who was responsible for creating in Halhed an active interest for the history, culture and literature of India. In 1773, at the instance of Hastings, Halhed (then a young man of 22) undertook the onerous task of translating the Hindu laws into English. In 1776 Halhed's translation saw the light of day under the title 'A Code of Gentoo Laws or Ordinations of Pundits'. For this work, he had to depend upon the Persian translation of the Hindu laws as he had no knowledge of Sanskrit. In the preface to the said work, Halhed has not only displayed a deep sympathy for Hindu culture, but also an objective realization of the importance of ancient Indian laws. He was a firm believer in the vast antiquity of Hindu civilisation and he openly declared that Hindu culture is not only the oldest, but also the most original of all cultures in the world. He even endeavoured to justify some of the unpalatable features of Indian customs and laws like Satī and the privilege of the Brāhmaṇas. Halhed also believed that the Egyptians and Greeks were influenced by the Hindu laws and manners. He had unshaken faith in the Hindu tradition and saw nothing illogical in the Hindu idea about the *yugas*. He studied Hindu laws with an open and unaffected mind and also with an enthusiasm unsurpassed in the Europeans of his days, his Western contem-

1 Continued from Vol. III, pp. 239-50 (XIII-XVIII).

poraries not at all sharing his respect for Indian culture. As a matter of fact, his preface had brought him a number of opponents who had not the slightest deference for Indian history and civilisation.

In the preface to his Bengali Grammar, Halhed advised the Britishers to follow the policy that Rome followed in the conquered countries like Greece or Israel. His Bengali Grammar may be described as a pioneering work in that field.

Halhed never forgave himself for his ignorance of Sanskrit language and he realized that a correct estimate of the Hindu history is not possible without a thorough knowledge of the *Devabhāṣā*. In spite of his limitations, he was one of the most remarkable scholars of his days. His zeal was not always correctly appreciated in his own country.

Halhed was also an active collector of Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali manuscripts. Most of his collections are preserved in the British Museum. His interest in Indology remained undiminished even after his departure from India in 1778. Wilkins, who published his Sanskrit grammar in 1784, got active help and advice from Halhed. On several of the manuscripts collected by him, Halhed has left extensive and valuable notes which, however, exhibit the gradual decline of his power. In his old age, he was regarded as suffering from insanity.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar thanked Mrs. Rocher for her interesting talk. It reminded him, Prof. Sircar observed, of the great indebtedness of the Indian students of the history and culture of their country to the Western pioneers who opened up the subject to them. He also expressed sorrow at the fact that the Indians of today often minimise the importance of the work done by Occidental scholars in the field of Indological studies. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee asked Mrs. Rocher whether Halhed had any knowledge of Persian. Mrs. Rocher replied in the affirmative. Dr. Chatterjee further asked her whether Halhed had a good knowledge of Bengali. Mrs. Rocher said that she was not in a position to pass any verdict on Halhed's knowledge of Bengali since she herself is not familiar with that language. Prof. Sircar observed that Halhed's grammar exhibits his knowledge of the language.

XX

Lecturer: Dr. Ian W. Mabbett, Department of History, Monash University, Australia.

Subject : The Interpretation of Ancient Indian Historical Sources.

Date : Tuesday, the 24th February, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay,

M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A. ; Sm. A. Majumdar, M. A. ; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sm. Kalyani Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri Subid Chattopadhyay, B. A. ; and others.

Summary : Dr. Mabbett observed that his area of interest was South-East Asia, specially Cambodia and India. He added that he had studied the political institutions of ancient India. Dr. Mabbett referred to the *Arthaśāstra* and pointed out that, if we apply the critical assessment of a historian to the said work, assigned to the Prime Minister of the founder of the Maurya empire, we find that it cannot be treated as historical evidence in support of the existence of integrated well-run empires. The recent researches of Dr. T.R. Trautmann, who has used the computer technique, Dr. Mabbett further pointed out, suggest strongly that the *Arthaśāstra* has the character of an anthology and is not the creation of a single Mauryan minister.

In Dr. Mabbett's opinion, though the *Arthaśāstra* offers detailed provisions for the administration of all branches of government, it is theoretical in character, offering an ideal to aim at rather than a description of anything that actually existed. Thus, there is meticulous detail about the king's role, ministerial organization, departmental management, and the administration of justice among other things ; but this is all part of a body of advice offered to kings about what they should do ; it is not an empirical account of what they succeeded in doing. It is preferable to see, Dr. Mabbett observed, the administration envisaged by the text as that of the home territory of a ruler rather than as of a whole empire. The normal pattern of Indian empires was an association of regional governments, where the local rulers were appointed by, or gave tribute to, a titular overlord. The distinction among neighbours, vassals and governors of provinces was blurred. Kings were expected to place relatives of defeated kings on the thrones of conquered territories. Thus the sort of empire envisaged by the *Arthaśāstra* may be an association of partly autonomous units, and the government it describes that of one unit.

Even though the *Arthaśāstra* is theoretical, Dr. Mabbett did not consider it useless for the purposes of history, the point being what sort of inferences can be drawn from it. In Dr. Mabbett's opinion, the work yields valuable information about the structure of royal governments, showing that full time bureaucracies were normal, though it does not yield information about the effectiveness of the functioning of these administrations. The preoccupation of the *Arthaśāstra* with the problem of officials' reliability suggests that, in practice, officialdom was an impediment to, rather than an instrument of the assertion of, royal authority.

Discussion: Prof. D. C. Sircar expressed his agreement with Dr. Mabbett on certain points and said that he regarded the works of Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra and Kāmaśāstra as more or less theoretical, even though theoretical treatment has also great value to the historian. He quoted a verse from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, which says that the meaning of the *śāstra* is wide, but that its application is limited. Prof. Sircar further pointed out that he had once occasion to observe on the subject as follows. Kauṭilya was the founder of a new school of Political Philosophy and the *Arthaśāstra* was the work of this school ; many of its views may be ascribed to Kauṭilya (4th century B. C.) ; but the book in its present form is certainly post-Christian ; the suggestion that works like the *Arthaśāstra* present an ideal rather than the real state of society is of course partially true.

Prof. Sircar also referred to the element of exaggeration in the description of kings in the epigraphic records. Major A. K. Chaudhuri observed that the *Arthaśāstra* is not merely a theoretical work, but has its practical side. He also said that some of the inscriptions of South-East Asia throws a flood of light on the political and religious history of ancient India. Sri D. K. Biswas said that the *Arthaśāstra* probably exercised a sobering influence on the administration of the Hindu kingdom of Cambodia. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay opined that, as a source of ancient Indian history, coins often offer direct and incontestable evidence.

XXI

Lecturer: Dr. A. L. Basham, Professor of Asian Civilization, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

Subject: Secular Element in Ancient Indian Life.

Date: Wednesday, the 25th February, 1970.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A. ; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A. ; Sri R.K. Billorey, M.A. ; Sri M.S.S. Mohana Nehru, M.A. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL.B. ; Sm. S. Chattopadhyay, B.A. ; Dr. I.W. Mabbett, M.A., D. Phil. (Monash University, Australia) ; Sri Nirmal Ch. Bhattacharya, M. A., LL. B. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; and others.

Summary: Prof. Basham prefaced his talk with a reference to the Australian interest in Indology in recent years. Turning then to his subject, he pointed out that the secular element is discernible even in the earliest Vedic literature. In the hymn of creation in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the

Ṛgveda, the philosophical doubt has been expressed in language which smacks of secularism. The story of Naciketas, found in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, clearly reveals the scepticism of the Upaniṣadic seer regarding the efficacy of sacrifice. According to Prof. Basham, the author of the Upaniṣad probably flourished near about the age of the Buddha. Secularism in the form of scepticism is also to be found in the teaching of Ajita Keśakambalin, a rival of the Buddha. The materialistic doctrine as found in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, a Jaina text of antiquity, should also have to be taken into account. In the teachings of Cārvāka who was probably a philosopher of the Mauryan period, we find, for the first time, a systematic exposition of this materialistic philosophy. The only source of knowledge recognised by the Lokāyata philosophy of Cārvāka is *pratyakṣa* (perception) while *anumāna* (inference), recognised by the other thinkers as another important source of knowledge, was regarded by Cārvāka's school as a weapon in the hands of the power-crazy and hypocritical Brāhmaṇas. Prof. Basham next referred to a fragmentary manuscript found in Gujarat, which deals with the Cārvāka or Lokāyata philosophy in his opinion. He then quoted a verse from the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* which attributes it to Bṛhaspati, the great exponent of the Lokāyata system. The stanza exposes the hypocrisy and hollowness of the sacrificial religion. Prof. Basham, however, expressed the opinion that not many in India had faith in this outright materialistic philosophy.

Prof. Basham then turned to the more practical exposition of secularistic philosophy of the post-Maurya period according to which Dharma, Artha and Kāma (i.e. piety, profit and pleasure) are the aims of life, and referred to Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana, the celebrated authors respectively of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmasūtra*. According to Kauṭilya, the king, and not the Brāhmaṇas, was the final arbiter in the matter of law, and the king's supremacy is vindicated by him by regarding him as the symbol of *Daṇḍa*. Among the kings of India, Prof. Basham observed, only Alāuddīn Khaljī demonstrated his ability in following the Kauṭilyan doctrine of *Daṇḍa*. The author of the *Kāmasūtra*, according to Prof. Basham, was inspired by the teaching of the *Arthaśāstra* and was a believer in an easy-going existence. He did not believe in the doctrine of 'simple living and high thinking' and glorified the life of the Nāgaraka. The epicurean approach toward life is also noticed in the *Daśakumāracarita*, in which the heroes show disregard for religious and ethical values. The Bhakti movement of the mediaeval period denounced this secularistic philosophy of Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana and glorified poverty and simple living. The folklore of the same period, however, exhibits a great deal of cynicism about the orthodox religion.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that a distinction should be made between the materialism of Cārvāka and Bṛhaspati and the secularism of

Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana. He also pointed out that Cārvākism was confined to a few philosophers and was never a popular movement in India. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya contended that Cārvāka's Lokāyata doctrine was immensely popular among the masses. Prof. Sircar did not agree with this view and said that the absence of any text of the Lokāyata school points not only to its lack of popularity, but also to people's aversion to it. This fact cannot be explained away by emphasing that the doctrine was popular among the illiterate masses since the popularity of the Bhakti cult among the illiterate people and the abundance of books on the subject have to be taken into consideration in this connection. Prof. Basham also agreed that Cārvākism was popular with a section of the intellectuals. He further observed that all the Indian philosophies including Buddhism and Jainism believe in supernatural powers and in the old Indian conception about the transmigration of soul. He added that Cārvāka's doctrine never reached the masses and that it was mainly followed by the refined and sophisticated intellectuals. Prof. Basham emphasised the fact that the Lokāyata is and was never a Marxist philosophy; it is only the realistic philosophy of life to be found in all civilized countries. This non-religious and non-ethical view of Cārvāka, according to Prof. Basham, is also to be found in the utterances of Frederick II who regarded the founders of religions as the root cause of all mischief.

XXII

Lecturer: Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

Subject : Recent Archaeological Trends in South India.

Date : Saturday, the 28th February, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Dr. S. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. S.P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil.; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sm. K. Goswami, M. A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A.; and others.

Proceedings : Prof. Mahalingam began his talk by pointing out that the archaeology of South India has not received the same amount of attention as that of North India. Before 1944, no excavations were conducted in the Far South on scientific lines. It was Mortimer Wheeler who, in that year, began excavating a site near Pondicherry. During the period 1944-55, the archaeologists were mainly interested in megalithic sites, about 250 of which were surveyed and a few of them excavated. In 1956, with the establishment

of the Department of Archaeology in the University of Madras, the attention was focussed on other kinds of sites. Prof. Mahalingam and his students excavated rural sites in the Kāverī Valley, regarded as the cradle of Tamil civilisation, for nine consecutive years. The excavated sites included parts of the old city of Uṟaiyūr, the ancient capital of the Coḷas, now within the limits of Tiruchchirapalli.

Prof. Mahalingam emphasised the fact that his excavations in the Kaveri Valley have more or less corroborated the evidences regarding the civilisation of the Coḷa age as found in the Sangam literature. Agriculture was the most important occupation of the people. This is proved by the discovery of charred grains and the remains of granaries. Hunting and fishing implements have also been discovered. The silk weaving and dyeing industries were quite popular. There was a flourishing ceramic industry, and, in this connexion, Prof. Mahalingam referred to the discovery of a good number of black-and-red ware.

Referring to the religious life of the people, Prof. Mahalingam said that the worship of the Sun, the Moon and the Mother-goddess was popular. He referred to the discovery of a terracotta female figure assignable roughly to the 2nd century B.C., without head and legs, which is a representation of the Mother-goddess and supports the evidence of Sangam poetry regarding the popularity of the worship of Śakti. Some early phallic symbols, a terracotta tree-goddess and a tiny third-century Nāga-liṅga piece have also been unearthed. Prof. Mahalingam pointed out that the discoveries disprove the earlier view that phallic worship in South India is of recent origin. Another terracotta piece showing a middle-aged person with curly hair, according to Prof. Mahalingam, probably represents the Buddha. He also referred to the unearthing of a terracotta Gaṇeśa along with his *mūṣika* and of another terracotta figure which may be a representation of the Buddha.

The discovery of monasteries, reservoirs and other buildings prove that the early Coḷas were good builders and they also corroborate the literary evidence regarding the architectural activities of that age. Prof. Mahalingam then referred to a broken pot with 13 letters in the Drāviḍī script and Tamil language found from Uṟaiyūr from a depth of 10½ feet. He regarded it as assignable to a date between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D.

Prof. Mahalingam said that Uṟaiyūr has not yielded anything which can be assigned to the period between the 4th and 9th centuries A. D. The discovery of flood deposit in a level, stratigraphically assigned to the 8th century A.D., corroborates, in his opinion, the evidence of an inscription (944 A.D.) of the reign of Parāntaka I, according to which the city of Uraiyūr was destroyed by the Kāverī floods sometime in the 8th century A.D.

***Discussion*:** Prof. D. C. Sircar asked whether early Roman coins, and

terracotta or unburnt clay seals were discovered during the excavations. Prof. Mahalingam replied in the negative. Prof. Sircar further wanted to know the grounds on which the Gudimallam Liṅga could be assigned to the 3rd-4th century A.D. Prof. Mahalingam replied that, as the Gudimallam Liṅga contains the figure of Lakulīśa, it should not be assigned to an earlier date. Prof. Sircar considered the identification problematical.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri enquired whether any coin bearing animal figures was found during the exacavations. Prof. Mahalingam replied that a square coin with the figure of a tiger was unearthed. Dr. S. R. Das doubted the identification of the damaged female terracotta figure, mentioned by Prof. Mahalingam, with the Mother-goddess ; but Prof. Mahalingam replied that there is no doubt regarding the identity as it is similar to the Mother-goddess figures discovered in Northern India.

Dr. S. P. Singh wanted to know the thickness and the area of the flood deposit which yielded no antiquity and, according to Prof. Mahalingam, indicated the destruction of the city of Uraiyūr by the Kāverī floods. Prof. Mahalingam said that the said deposit was about 1 foot thick and that its traces are marked on only one section of a trench. Dr. Singh doubted the theory regarding the destruction of the city by flood in view of the negligible thickness and the limited area over which the said deposit was found. Prof. Sircar also considered Prof. Mahalingam's interpretation of the occurrence of the deposit to be a matter of opinion. Dr. S. R. Das and Dr. Singh doubted whether a public granary measuring about $8' - 8\frac{1}{2}'$ could be built on a 6" foundation as Prof. Mahalingam observed.

XXIII

Lecturer : Prof. L. Rocher, Chairman, Oriental Studies, The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

Subject : Continuity and Change in the History of Hindu Institutions : the Case of Hindu Law.

Date : Thursday, the 9th April, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri D.K. Biswas, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A. ; Sm. A. Majumdar, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Prof. Rocher observed that he has been studying Hindu Law for 20 years, as a result of which he has been able to formulate certain

ideas. One thing that struck him most is the fundamental unity that underlies Hindu Law. He divided his subject into four periods, viz. Hindu, Muslim, British and Independent days.

As regards the first stage, Prof. Rocher observed that the fundamental characteristic of the laws of the Hindu period is the concept of *Dharma* as their basis which he considered unique in the ancient world. The second important characteristic of the laws of the period is the existence of apparently contradictory rules in the different texts. By way of illustration, Prof. Rocher said that, according to some texts, the Kartā is the absolute head of the family and has dictatorial powers, though according to some other texts, he has only limited powers. Lacunae amongst them is another very important feature of Hindu laws. But according to Prof. Rocher, since Hindu legal texts are not strictly law-books but *Dharmaśāstras*, this is natural and inevitable. The last fundamental feature of Hindu laws, according to Prof. Rocher, is the role of customs in the framing of the Laws.

Speaking about the second stage, viz. Hindu laws during the Muslim period, Prof. Rocher observed that all the *Dharmaśāstras* were looked upon as Smṛtis in this period. The commentators, who flourished then, tried to justify each and every inherent contradiction in the texts before them by calling them *vikalpa* or alternative rules applicable to separate *yugas* or ages. Some of the lacunae of the first stage were filled up by new rules. Prof. Rocher then criticised the view that local customs were incorporated in the *Nibandhas* of different areas. According to him, a *Nibandhakāra* of a late date was not expected to give in his work all the changes noticed in his age, but to follow honestly the rules given in the early texts.

As to the third stage, Prof. Rocher said that everything that is written in the Hindu *Śāstras* or the Muslim scriptures notably the *Qurān* were sources of law in the British period. Vastly distorted translations of the Sanskrit and Arabic works only helped to make the confusion worse confounded. So far as the lacunae are concerned, the British judges preferred the *Nibandhas* to the *Śāstras*, though they seldom realized the meaning of these laws. The intricacies of the Hindu *Śāstras* remained outside the grasp of those sophisticated gentlemen who had their own views about justice.

In the laws of the fourth stage, one notices unbroken continuity of the laws of the British period. Although in some of the Acts which came into force from 1956 new trends are discernible, even they exhibit influence of the preceding stage.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar drew attention to an interesting aspect of ancient Indian laws as contained in the various works regarded as *Śāstra*. This is the absence of any uniform legal code and the existence of conflicting views on most problems of law. Anything that is written in those texts,

Prof. Sircar emphasised, can both be defended and rejected on the authority of other texts. He then pointed out that Prof. Rocher did not say anything about what the Muslim judges did in dealing with the Hindu litigants. Prof. Rocher replied that the Qazis followed the instructions given in the Qurān while dealing with both the Muslim and Hindu litigants. In his opinion, the Muslims never really cared to study or understand the Hindu legal rules. Dr. S. K. Mitra opined that, in the Muslim period, the Hindu civil cases were resolved locally, the Qazis passing judgements only in criminal cases. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that benevolent Muslim rulers sometimes approved trial by ordeal for settling disputes among the Hindus. Prof. Rocher expressed his doubts whether local customs played a big part in litigation during the Muslim period; but Prof. Sircar pointed out that no satisfactory research work seems to have been done in this field. Sri D. K. Biswas said that the value and popularity of a particular *Dharmaśāstra* text is to be determined from its quotations by other authorities.

Prof. Sircar thanked Prof. Rocher for his interesting lecture.

XXIV

Lecturer: Prof. D. C. Sircar, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

Subject: Introduction to Indian Epigraphy.

Date: Tuesday, the 24th November, 1970.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL.B.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Prof. D. C. Sircar first referred to his work entitled *Indian Epigraphy* which deals with the subject in details and was published in 1965. Then he discussed the topic under the following sections—(I) Indian Inscriptions, (II) Their Language, (III) Importance of Epigraphy, (IV) Copper-plate Grants, (V) Dating of the Records, and (VI) Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions Outside India.

Prof. Sircar first gave a general idea about the nature of epigraphical records found in different regions of India. In this connexion he mentioned writings engraved on various objects such as stone, metal, clay, wood, etc. He then pointed out that Indian inscriptions can be classified in two broad types, viz. (I) Private Records and (II) Royal Documents, the latter

being naturally more important from the historian's point of view than the former.

As regards the language of the inscriptions, Prof. Sircar pointed out that the earliest records are written in Prakrit which was ousted by Sanskrit from the epigraphic field a few centuries later. The language of most of the pre-Christian epigraphs, including those of Aśoka, is Prakrit. One of the earliest Sanskrit records written in a developed *kāvya* style is the Junagadh inscription of Śaka Rudradāman I, dated 150 A. D. The epigraphs of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods are written in Sanskrit. Some early records are also written in such foreign languages as Greek and Aramaic. On the coins of the early foreign rulers of North-West India, the legends are generally written in the Greek language sometimes translated into Prakrit. Later records of the mediaeval period are mostly written in the regional languages such as Tamil, Talugu, Kannaḍa, Marāṭhī, Hindī, Gujarātī, etc.

Prof. Sircar then said that, in the absence of dependable historical writings left by ancient Indian authors, epigraphic records have come to play a very important role in the reconstruction of our forgotten history. A good number of our inscriptions, he observed, offer valuable information regarding the political and cultural history of India pertaining to the early period. Prof. Sircar pointed out, however, that there are records which contain exaggerated and hyperbolic statements in the official description of rulers and their ancestors, which was composed by the court poets. Prof. Sircar observed that a historian should have to be careful and discriminating as regards the evidence of such records.

Prof. Sircar then briefly discussed the nature of copper-plate grants issued by Indian kings of the early and medieval ages. He also referred to the preparation of such charters as prescribed by the Dharmaśāstra works and tried to show how the Dharmaśāstra description suits some of the actual specimens discovered from different parts of India. Prof. Sircar assigned the earliest available copper-plates recording land grants to South India and to the fourth century A. D. He also gave an account of the various types of seals which were affixed to the copper-plate charters for their authentication.

Prof. Sircar next dealt with the dating of epigraphic records. In this connexion, he referred to the absence of popular eras in ancient India and to the introduction of the use of eras in the country by foreign rulers who came from the era-using regions of West Asia. He said that the earliest historical eras of India are the Vikrama and Śaka eras respectively of 58 B. C. and 78 A. D. and that reckonings like the Kaliyuga era and the Parinirvāṇa eras of the Buddhists and Jains came to be used centuries later than their supposed beginning. Prof. Sircar regarded the era of 58 B.C. as brought from East

Iran by the Śaka invaders of the Indus valley and was also in favour of the identification of the Śaka era with the reckoning starting from the accession of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka I.

Lastly, Prof. Sircar gave a brief survey of the Prakrit inscriptions found in Central Asia and the Sanskrit epigraphs found in the countries of Indo-china and Indonesia and pointed out how this was the result of the early spread of Indian culture in the regions in question.

Discussion: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that the first section of the lecture, in which the subject has been introduced, is very interesting. Sm. C. Gupta, however, commented that the topics discussed in the lecture are also found in Prof. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphy*. Prof. Sircar replied that, since the *Indian Epigraphy* is a fairly comprehensive treatment of the subject, the topics discussed in the lecture cannot be entirely new. He said that the lecture is not meant particularly for specialists, but for ordinary readers willing to have some knowledge of the subject; but, he observed in the same context, reference has been made in the lecture to a few recently published inscriptions and epigraphic studies which are not expected in the *Indian Epigraphy* published some years ago. Sri R. P. Majumdar suggested that, as the lecture is meant for ordinary readers, the language may be made as simple as possible when it is published.

MONTHLY SEMINARS AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY[1]

XXXIX

Thursday, the 26th March, 1970.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A.; Sm. S. Das, M. A.; Sm. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M. A.; Sm. K. Goswami, M. A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M. A.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A.; Dr. R. Gombrich; Sri J. R. Haldar, M. A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil,; and others.

Proceedings: Sri J. R. Haldar, read a paper on the characteristics of Buddhist gods, in which he pointed out that the gods and Brahmās mentioned in Pali literature are inferior to the Buddha to whom they show their reverence. He also said that the distinction between the characteristics of Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist gods lies in the fact that the supreme gods of the Brāhmaṇical literature can create, preserve and destroy the universe, but that the gods of the Buddhists do not possess any such power, even though the Buddha called the Supreme Being, because of his omniscience, can help human beings to obtain the highest goal of Nibbāna.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that, unlike the Brāhmaṇical gods, the Buddhist gods were subject to death. Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay observed that the Brāhmaṇical gods mentioned in Pali literature may be regarded as demi-gods; but Prof. Sircar said that they are not really demi-gods, but are minor gods inferior to the Buddha. Sri Haldar pointed out that personification and deification of natural phenomena are noticed in Pali literature which also mentions some important gods of the Brāhmaṇical literature; but they are described in conformity with the Buddhist conception. Sri Haldar further stated that the Buddhist gods sometimes assumed human and animal forms. He also referred to tutelary gods, tree-gods, hill-deities, ocean-deities, etc.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a paper on the marriage of the widow of the elder brother with her husband's younger brother as prevalent among

1 Continued from Vol. III, pp. 251-91 (Nos. XXII–XXXVIII).

the ancient Indians and Jews. He thought that the Indians may have adopted the custom from the Jews or *vice versa*. Sri R. P. Majumdar disagreed with him. Prof. D. C. Sircar doubted whether any case of sexual relation between the widow and her husband's younger brother should be called 'marriage'. He thought that in many cases it might have been mere adultery or concubinage. Dr. A. N. Lahiri and Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay regarded it as a custom not involving marriage. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya said that this custom is found throughout the world, and Prof. Sircar observed that it is difficult to say as to who adopted the custom from whom.

3. Sri R. P. Majumdar read a paper in which an attempt was made to locate certain geographical names in Eastern India and its neighbourhood, which are mentioned in the early Sanskrit texts; e.g. Śarmaka can be located in the Surma valley in Assam; Varmaka may be identified with Burma; Kaccha may be equated with Cachar, etc. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that some of Sri Majumdar's suggestions were doubtful.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his two notes, the first one on the date of the Mankuwar image inscription of Kumāragupta I. He tried to prove that the central symbol in the date read as the Gupta year 100 20 9 (i.e. 129=448 A. D.) cannot be 20 because it is quite unlike *20* or the letter *tha* as found in other records of the age of Kumāragupta I. While the said sign in the date of the Mankuwar inscription is a very small globular symbol, the sign for 20 or *tha* in the inscriptions of Kumāragupta's age are vertically elongated and big. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the correct reading of the date of the Mankuwar inscription is 100 0 9, i.e. 109=428 A. D. The importance of this reading is that it exhibits some influence of the decimal system of writing numbers, the earliest use of which has been traced up till now in the Sankheda plate of 594 A. D. which is more than a century and a half later. Prof. Sircar referred to a few inscriptions in which the zero has been used as in the Mankuwar inscription. Sri D. K. Biswas observed that the reading is of considerable importance since it disproves the views of the few scholars who challenge the theory regarding the Indian origin of the decimal notation.

[The note has been published in *JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 133-37.]

5. Next Prof. Sircar read his second note on the official designation *Nihilapati* or *Nihelapati* found in the Nirmand plate (7th century) of Samudrasena and the Sungal plate (11th century) of Vidagdha, discovered respectively in the Punjab and the old Chamba State in the present Himachal Pradesh. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the word *nihela* in *Nihelapati*, which has not yet been interpreted satisfactorily, is Prakrit for Sanskrit *nīla*, so that *Nihelapati-Nihilapati* means an officer in charge of the plantation and production of indigo. As regards the use of hybrid Prakrit-Sanskrit expressions

in a number of Sanskrit epigraphs, Prof. Sircar drew attention to the expressions *ḍhenku-kaḍḍhaka* (in which *kaḍḍhaka* is Sanskrit *karṣaka*) and *nīla-ḍumphaka* (in which *ḍumphaka* is Sanskrit *dṛmphaka*) found in the sixth-century charter of Viṣṇuṣena of Gujarat. Prof. Sircar tried to show that the indigo dye was manufactured in India from very ancient times down to recent days.

[The note has been published in *JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 137-41.]

6. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read his paper on some temple inscriptions from Bishnupur in which he referred to three groups of epigraphs. The first group covered those of which the photographs are already published and the readings were offered by earlier writers. Dr. Bandyopadhyay pointed out inaccuracies in the readings of the inscriptions on the Joḍ-Bāṅglā, Lāljī and Śyāmrāy temples. His second group of inscriptions were from the Kālācānd and Tejpāl temples whose photographs were published, but no readings were attempted. Dr. Bandyopadhyay offered their readings. The third group is represented by a new inscription. Dr. Bandyopadhyay gave his reading of it and discussed its importance. The record is dated, according to his reading, in the Malla year 915 and Śaka year 1532 corresponding to 1610 A. D. This is the earliest inscription dated in the Malla era. Prof. D. C. Sircar suggested the reading *916* for *915* which was accepted by Dr. Bandyopadhyay. Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that one of the names reads Kāminīsiṁha and not Kāmināsiṁha. Dr. Bandyopadhyay observed that, though the correct form of the name seems to be Kāminīsiṁha, it looks like Kāmināsiṁha.

XL

Thursday, the 16th April, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Sri T.N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A.. D. Phil.; Sm. C. Gupta, M. A., LL. B.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. S.P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Sri R.P. Majumdar, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. Sm. K. Saha read her paper entitled 'Buddhist Manuscript Remains from Central Asia', in which she observed that the Central Asian finds established for the first time that the Sarvāstivādins also possessed a complete Tripiṭaka, since we have fragments of all the three Piṭakas, viz. *Sūtra-piṭaka*, *Vinaya-piṭaka* and *Abhidharma-piṭaka*. Besides these, Dr. Sm. Saha mentioned several texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism which have been discovered in Central Asia, and also fragments of the works of two great Buddhist poets, viz. Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa.

Regarding Mātṛceṭa, Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that some scholars

mention him as Mātṛceṭa meaning 'servant of the mother', but others as Mātṛcetaḥ probably meaning 'one whose thoughts are on the mother', though the first spelling seems to be preferable. Dr. D. R. Das drew attention to a recently published comprehensive work on Buddhism wherein there is a lot of information about Buddhist manuscripts in Central Asia. In this connection, Prof. Sircar referred to P. C. Bagchi's *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* which contains information about Buddhist monks and works including those from Central Asia. Sm. C. Gupta wanted to know the importance of Tun-huang. In reply, Prof. Sircar said that it was famous for its monastic establishment, while Dr. Das added that it lay on the Central Asian trade route between India and China.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his paper on 'Worship of Citragupta in Ancient India'. Dr. Chatterjee quoted from the Anuśāsana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* and some Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Matsya* to show that Citragupta was regularly worshipped as a deity from an early period. In all these works, the god is shown as a scribe. About the 9th century A. D., Dr. Chatterjee pointed out, Citragupta came to be associated with the Kāyasthas who were originally scribes by profession. He further observed that the term *udīcyaveśa* used in connection with the description of the image of Citragupta in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* probably proves that the god was of North Indian origin.

Prof. D. C. Sircar wanted to know whether the image of Citragupta is still worshipped in any part of Bengal; but Dr. Chatterjee found it difficult to give a definite reply to the question. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya said that Citragupta is not worshipped in Bengal, but that Citragupta's *Khātā* (account book) is well-known. Dr. Lahiri wanted information about Citragupta's image, and Dr. Das replied that the image was of a bearded and standing male, which he saw to be worshipped at Jamshedpur. He also referred to a temple of Citragupta at Khajuraho. Dr. S. P. Singh observed that Citragupta is worshipped in the Patna District. Prof. Sircar remarked that the term *udīcya-veśa* which means 'Central Asian dress' (covering the body from neck to heel according to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*) was misunderstood by Dr. Chatterjee. He further said that Citragupta is the scribe of Yama who dominates the South, so that his *udīcya-veśa* associated with foreigners is difficult to understand. Dr. Chatterjee suggested that this might indicate Citragupta's connection with sun-worship. He referred to the Bengali *Dharmamaṅgala-kāvyas*, in which the god Dharma-ṭhākur is sometimes described as dressed like a Muhammadan. Regarding the antiquity of the term *Kāyastha*, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that it seems to occur in a Mathura epigraph of pre-Gupta days.

3. Sri B. P. Mishra read his paper entitled 'Sources of the Kāliya Nāga

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Legend' in which he referred to the *Bhāgavata, Viṣṇu, Brahma* and *Harivaṁśa Purāṇas* wherein the story occurs. He commented on the view of J. C. Ghosh that the story developed from a *gāthā* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentioning the driving of a snake out from a lake. He also commented on the view of H. G. Narahari that two Vedic ideas have been incorporated in the legend. However, he admitted that Ghosh and Narahari are partially correct.

Dr. Chatterjee observed that every interesting legend found in the Purāṇas has its root in early literature, and Sri Mishra agreed with him. Sri R. P. Majumdar said that Kāliya reminded him of Kālayavana. Prof. Sircar and Sri Mishra codsidered it difficult to regard Kāla and Kāliya as the same. Prof. Sircar also found it difficult to associate Kāliya-nāga with Vṛtra.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read a note on 'Kāla-Yavana and Garga-Yavana' in which he drew attention to the fact that Purāṇic tradition represents Kāla-Yavana, also called 'the Yavana', as the son or descendant of Garga, so that Garga-Yavana or the Yavana of the Garga clan may be identical with Kāla-Yavana, i.e. the 'dark' Yavana. Prof. Sircar suggested that the Kālayavanas were the Negroes whose land in Africa was probably called Kālayavana-dvīpa in the *Daśakumāracarita*. Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay wanted to know the nature of the association of the Brāhmaṇa Garga with the Yavana. Prof. Sircar replied that the Purāṇic tradition associates Kāla-yavana with Garga in one case as the son of the latter from a Yavana queen.

[The note has been published in *JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 141-44.]

5. Prof. Sircar next read another note on the Maināmatī plate of Vīradharadeva, in which he discussed the contents of an unpublished copper-plate grant of the said king of South-East Bengal on the basis of the published photograph of three-fourths of the reverse of his plate. The Vaiṣṇava king Vīradhara granted land in the Vātagaṅgā-viṣaya within the Samataṭa-maṇḍala of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti in favour of Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭāraka bearing the name Laḍaha-mādhava, with his thoughts on Lord Vāsudeva and using the Viṣṇucakra seal. The god Laḍaha-mādhava is known to have been installed by king Laḍahacandra (c. 1000–20 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Das referred to a rumour that 63 copper-plate grants have been discovered from the monastic site at Mainamati. Sm. C. Gupta wanted to know the significance of the representation of 'a running dog' which is said to be at the end of the inscription. Prof. Sircar thought that it may indicate a curse that the transgressor of the grant would be reborn as a dog. In this connection, he also referred to the donkey-curse illustrated in some records. Dr. D. R. Das pointed out that, in Gandhāra sculpture, a female deity seated on throne and surrounded by two dogs, has been noticed.

6. Sri R. P. Majumdar then read his paper entitled 'Identification of Some-Eastern Countries of the Kūrmavibhāga' in which he discussed 18 names occurring in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Ch. 58) and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. Prof. Sircar criticised some of the identifications proposed by Sri Majumdar.

XLI

Thursday, the 9th July, 1970.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A. LL. B., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M A., D. Phil.; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph. D.; Sm. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.; Sri A. K. Jha, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Litt.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya read his paper entitled 'The Concept of Indian Temples' in which he traced the growth and development of the idea of temples from the earliest times. In the Indus Valley Civilization, Dr. Bhattacharya observed, temples did not exist, while the Vedic *yajñaśālās* developed into temple in the later period. Still later, the temple was regarded as the body of the gods and their various parts were named after human limbs.

Prof. D. C. Sircar remarked that the Tamil word *kovil*, literally meaning 'the king's house' or 'the house of God', and standing for a temple may indicate Dravidian contribution to the development of the concept of temples since the formation of the word is uninfluenced by Sanskrit. He therefore suggested that temples existed in Pre-Aryan India. Dr. S. K. Mitra agreed with him. Dr. Bhattacharya said that he did not subscribe to the generally accepted theory regarding the Dravidians and Aryans, so that it is difficult for him to say anything on the antiquity of the concept of the Dravidian *kovil*. Dr. D. R. Das referred to the South Indian temples, whose lower part is called *Pādabhāga* and upper part *mastaka*, though the body of the temple is not called *dehabhāga*. Dr. Bhattacharya replied that, since there are words like *garbhagṛha*, *kaṭi*, soul, etc., no necessity may have been felt for the specific mention of the body by a particular name.

2. Next Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya read a note on the *Tattvopaplavasiṁha*, in which he observed that the said work, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, has been wrongly regarded by its editors as the only extant text on the Cārvāka or Lokāyata philosophy, even though this view is accepted by later writers. Dr. Bhattacharya pointed out that the author, Jayarāśi-

bhaṭṭa, actually refutes the doctrines of the Cārvākas, though the word Cārvāka or Lokāyata does not really occur in the text.

Prof. Sircar observed that the name of the book, meaning 'the destroyer of doubts about truths' does not indicate its subject, so that discussion on Dr. Bhattacharya's paper should better be taken up at the next Monthly Seminar when the participants may come prepared to discuss the real nature of the work.

3. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee then read his paper entitled 'Some Chronological Problems in the *Mahābhārata*' in which he tried to show that the Great Epic sometimes offers genuine information about political history. He pointed out how the 149 years' rule of the six kings from Śāntanu to Janamejaya looks quite possible. Dr. Chatterjee also observed that both Yudhiṣṭhira and Dhṛtarāṣṭra died in their eighties. He drew attention to the Udyoga-parvan (52.10) to show that the burning of the Khāṇḍava took place 33 years before the Bhārata War. Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa speaks of Parīkṣit's rule of sixty years, though, in Dr. Chatterjee's opinion, Parīkṣit ascended the throne at the age of 36 and ruled for 24 years only. He quoted the Ādi-parvan (49.26) to prove that Parīkṣit died at the age of 60.

Prof. Sircar did not believe in the historicity of any of the tales of the *Mahābhārata* even though it is called an *itihāsa* which, in his opinion, meant any old legend including myths and tales of various kinds. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya disagreed with Dr. Chatterjee in respect of the length of Parīkṣit's reign and Yudhiṣṭhira's life.

4. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read a note on 'Images of the Buddha in a Cave in Czechoslovakia' in which he quoted from what Sri M. L. Ganguly wrote, after having visited that country, in a Bengali book entitled *Punardarśanāya* published in Calcutta in 1371 B. S. Sri Ganguly states that innumerable images of Lord Buddha of different sizes are lying for a long time in a cave in Czechoslovakia, which is called *Matsokha* meaning 'step-mother'. Sri Bhattacharya said that the images might have been brought from India at the time of Aśoka in the third century B. C. Prof D. C. Sircar observed that accounts like that of Sri Ganguly have to be taken with a grain of salt. He also pointed out that images of the Buddha developed in India a few centuries after Aśoka.

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'The Sun Temple at Muṇḍira'. He pointed out that Muṇḍīrasvāmin, the Sun-god worshipped at Muṇḍīra, is famous in the Purāṇic tradition. Muṇḍīra was situated in Eastern India and the Sun-god was worshipped there in the morning while he was worshipped at noon at Kālapriya on the Yamunā (modern Kalpi in the Jalaun District, U. P.) and at sunset at Mūlasthāna or Mitravana on the

Candrabhāgā (modern Multan in West Pakistan). According to certain Purāṇic traditions which Prof. Sircar regarded as earlier, Muṇḍīra was situated at the Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama and was associated with the mythical Sun-rise mountain, while later traditions appear to associate it with Orissa probably suggesting its identification with Koṇārak. Prof. Sircar was inclined to assign the grafting not only of Muṇḍīra but also of Gaṅgāsāgara, Udayagiri, Candrabhāgā, Mitravana, etc., to Orissa to the age when, on the eclipse of Gaṅgāsāgara, the greatest *tīrtha* of Eastern India in ancient times, its glory was appropriated by the medieval Purī-tīrtha. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, Muṇḍīra was originally different from Koṇārak, because the early name of the latter is known to have been Koṇākoṇa.

Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya said that, as noticed in his work entitled *The Canons of Indian Art*, in a list of places where the various planets are worshipped, Kaliṅga is mentioned as the place of the Sun-god in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra Pariśiṣṭa*. Prof. Sircar observed that the said list has to be regarded as medieval.

XLII

Thursday, the 20th August, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D. Litt. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL.B. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. D.R. Das, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A. ; Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Litt. ; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A. ; Sri C. L. Chakrabarty, M.A. ; and others.

Proceedings : The proceedings of the previous Monthly Seminar held on the 9th July, 1970, were read and adopted. In connection with the record of Dr. A.K. Chatterjee's paper on 'Some Chronological Problems in the *Mahābhārata*', Sri R. K. Bhattacharya observed that Dr. Chatterjee's view regarding Parīkṣit's rule of 24 years is really borrowed from Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa (*Mahābhārata*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 45). Sri Bhattacharya, however, quoted a verse (*ibid.*, Ādi, 44.7) to show that Parīkṣit ruled for 60 years. Relying on another section of the epic (*ibid.*, Ch. 120), Sri Bhattacharya further said that Yudhiṣṭhira was 16 at the time of Pāṇḍu's death, 36 when he became king of Indraprastha and went to the 13 year's exile after a period of 23 years. He fought the Bhārata war at the age of 72 and abdicated in favour of his grandson at the age of 108. Dr. Chatterjee said in reply that he had consulted the Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata* which omits some of the details quoted by Sri Bhattacharya from Siddhāntavāgīśa's edition.

Prof. D. C. Sircar regarded such controversies as futile and reiterated his view that little information on political history can be traced in the epics.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee moved a resolution on the sad demise of Prof. P. K. K. Menon of the University of Kerala, who was the editor of the celebrated periodical *Journal of Indian History*. All participants of the seminar stood up and observed two minutes' silence.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper 'The Ten Forms of Marriage' in which he said that eight forms of marriage were generally recognised by early Indian authorities, though there is no unanimity about the order. He next referred to verse 33 of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Chapter 241, which speaks of ten forms of marriage adding *Prātibha* and *Ghātana* to the well-known eight forms. Prof. Sircar observed that these two forms were in vogue among the lower sections of the people and, since the Nāgara-khaṇḍa deals with the Gujarat region, the said two forms of marriage may be searched for in that area. [On a later occasion, Dr. Sm. J. Maitra suggested that the name Prātibha may be associated with the word *pratibhū* and may mean 'marriage through a proxy'.]

4. Prof. Sircar then read another paper on 'Mahiṣamardinī Durgā', in which he first drew attention to the absurdity of the Bengal conception of Durgā going to her parents in the company of his sons Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya and daughters Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī while fighting, unaided by her children, with the demon Mahiṣa. He pointed out that this conception of the goddess, as now worshipped in Bengal, is first noticed in the 16th century work, *Caṇḍimaṅgala*. Prof. Sircar also mentioned the representation of Śiva and Kārttikeya as the destroyer of Mahiṣ-āsura and then pointed to the images of the goddess (beginning with one assigned to the first century B.C.) and to the various Purāṇic texts (beginning with the *Mārkaṇḍeya*) and drew attention to the differences in the description of her struggle with the demon. He also referred to an early medieval image in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi (East Pakistan), in which Durgā is said to be flanked by Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya.

Dr. Sm. J. Maitra observed that a form of the Lalitā aspect of Durgā is associated with Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa according to texts like the *Agni Purāṇa* and that such images of Lalitā are preserved in institutions like the British Museum. She also pointed out that one such Lalitā image in the State Archaeological Gallery, in the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal, has been wrongly labelled.

[The two papers have been published respectively in the *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1970, and the *Dr. P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, Dharwar, pp. 151-62.]

4. Sri B. P. Mishra then read his paper entitled 'Some Observations on Mahiṣamardinī' and pointed out that Rudra, Agni, the Maruts and Ambikā belong to the same group and there is a relation between these divinities. The discomfiture of Mahiṣa at the hands of Skanda-Kārttikeya, as referred to by Prof. Sircar, was considered by Sri Mishra as evidence supporting his idea that Mahiṣa developed from the Marut hymn. He further referred to some minor similarities between the Purāṇic Mother-goddess and the Vedic Agni and Rudra. Dr. D. R. Das regarded Sri Mishra's arguments as unsatisfactory.

5. Sri Mishra then read his second note entitled *'Tattvopaplavasiṁha*—a Cārvāka Work', in which he commented on the views of Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya expressed in the previous Monthly Seminar that the said work belongs not to the Cārvāka School, but to the Vedānta School of philosophy. Quoting passages from the text, Sri Mishra argued that *pramāṇa-khaṇḍana* in the *Tattvopaplavasiṁha* has nothing to do with the Vedānta. The main purpose of its author Jayarāśi is to refute *pramāṇa* according to all the systems of philosophy excluding the Cārvāka.

Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya argued that Jayarāśi's purpose was *pramāṇa-khaṇḍana* and since the Cārvākas believe in *pramāṇa*, he was not a Cārvāka. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, however, pointed out that Dr. Bhattacharya had misunderstood the text which is evidently a Cārvāka treatise. Prof. Sircar also supported Srī Mishra's contention.

6. Sri R.P. Majumdar then read his paper on 'Ptolemy's Moroundai and Pliny's Thinae', in which he challenged the accepted identifications of Moroundai and Thinae. Prof. Sircar did not agree with Sri Majumdar's views.

XLIII

Monday, the 7th September, 1970.

Present : Prof. D.C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D.Phil. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S.P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : When the proceedings of the previous Monthly Seminar, held on the 20th August, 1970, were read, in connection with the record of discussion on Prof. D. C. Sircar's paper entitled 'Mahiṣamardinī Durgā' in it,

Prof. Sircar thanked Dr. Sm. J. Maitra for her comments and observed that the *Agni Purāṇa* not only mentions an aspect of Lalitā flanked by Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, but also speaks of Umāmaheśvara as flanked by Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa as well as by Jayā and Vijayā. Prof. Sircar pointed out that, Śiva being depicted above the head of Durgā in the modern Bengal images, this Umāmaheśvara of the *Agni Purāṇa* would be a near approach to the Bengal image of Mahiṣamardinī with Jayā and Vijayā substituted by Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a paper entitled 'Position of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*' in which he attempted to show the unfortunate condition of Brāhmaṇas, only a few of whom are found to have cared for learning and high thinking. They are generally poor although a few Brāhmaṇas are represented as affluent. Dr. Chatterjee observed that the society painted in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* was dominated by the merchant community because wealthy merchants are sometimes depicted as achieving whatever they wanted.

Prof. Sircar remarked that similar conditions prevailed throughout the ages down to modern times. He also observed that the story of a Brāhmaṇa's wife kicked by a washerman, as found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, is merely meant to emphasise the judge's foolishness and has little to do with social history just as the folktale about a king who fixed the same price for the same quantity of all articles (e.g., gold, ashes, etc.) does not throw any light on economic history. Dr. S. K. Mitra agreed with Prof. Sircar.

3. Sm. K. Bajpeyi then read her note on the 'Identification of Śāhi Vamatakṣama'. She suggested that Vamatakṣama mentioned in an inscription from the Torki Ṭīlā at the village of Māṭ near Mathurā was probably the predecessor or senior partner of Kaṇiṣka I and the grandfather of Huviṣka. Prof. D. C. Sircar said that there are various theories about the said personage, though it is difficult to say anything definite on the subject until further evidence is forthcoming. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay agreed with Prof. Sircar, but observed that an analysis of the records makes Sm. Bajpeyi's suggestion probable.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar next read a note on the 'Propitiation of Unfavourable Planets'. He said that the subject had been summarily introduced in his paper entitled 'The Number of Ratnas' read at one of the earlier Monthly Seminars. Prof. Sircar tried to show that the conception of the planets' propitiation passed through several stages and that the custom of wearing particular jewels for the said purpose is not earlier than the medieval period. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, at first the nine planets were propitiated by *mantras*, etc., without any reference to jewels (cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 295ff.). At the second stage, as indicated by the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (I. 101. 2-3), which is a

medieval work in its present form, crystal was prescribed for the propitiation of Mars, red-sandal for that of Mercury and various cheap and precious metals for the other planets. At a later date, nine jewels were prescribed for the nine planets and, in the late medieval period, not only different jewels, metals and articles were separately prescribed for each of them, but sometimes two gems were prescribed, one for pleasing a planet and another for removing its disfavour. Prof. Sircar regarded such conflicting and changing prescriptions as worthless and pointed out in the same context that Rāhu and Ketu are not planets at all.

Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that, according to some translators, whatever entered into the king's *kośa* was a *ratna*. Regarding differences in the various lists of objects prescribed for propitiating different *grahas*, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that they are probably due to the non-availability of gems and the incapacity of people to buy them. He drew attention to what happens when a particular ingredient of a medicine is not available. Prof. Sircar disagreed with this view because, as he pointed out, this kind of substitution is not mentioned in the literature on the subject.

5. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya then read his note entitled 'Origin of the Śrāddha Rites as known from the *Mahābhārata*' in which he said that according to the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana-parvan, Siddhāntavāgīśa's ed., Chs. 7-8), the *śrāddha* rite, in its present form, originated from the time of Nimi, an ancient king of Mithilā, and gradually became popular under the names *śrāddha* and *pitṛ-yajña*. Quoting the *Kātyāyana S'rautasūtra* (Ch. 21), Sri Bhattacharya said that, in the early Vedic period, the sacrificial rite called *pitṛmedha* was performed for propitiating deceased ancestors.

Sri B. P. Mishra wanted to know the earliest reference to the word *śrāddha*. Prof. D. C. Sircar said that *śrāddha*, which seems to be a Nonaryan practice later borrowed by the Aryans, does not occur in early literature. He made a distinction between the Vedic post-funeral practice and the later *śrāddha* ceremony. Sri D. Mukherjee referred to the *Rāmāyaṇa* legend of the deceased Daśaratha having been offered *bālukāmaya-piṇḍa*. Sri Mishra mentioned *piṇḍ-odaka* (offering of cakes and water) as an essential part of *śrāddha* and referred to the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* which speaks of Manu offering water (*tarpaṇa*). Prof. Sircar did not consider it possible to associate *tarpaṇa* with *śrāddha*. He pointed out that feeding the dead ancestors with *piṇḍ-odaka* is mentioned in the Bajaur casket inscription of about the first century B. C.

XLIV

Thursday, the 12th November, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. Sm. P.

Niyogi, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri .D. K. Biswas, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read his note entitled 'The First Indian Missionary in Tibet', in which he referred to the Tibetan work *Chas-hbyuñ* and Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das's 'Indian Pandits in Tibet' published in 1893 in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* (Vol. I, Part I, pp. 1 ff.), and said that Śāntarakṣita was the first Indian who visited Tibet in the first quarter of the 8th century A. D. and introduced Buddhism and constructed Buddhist shrines there under the patronage of the Tibetan king Thi-srong-de-tsan.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that Sri Bhattacharya's views are wrong. It is well known that Buddhism was introduced in Tibet during the reign of king Srong-tsan-Gampo (accession 629 A. D.) whose two queens—one the daughter of the king of Nepal and the other the Chinese emperor's daughter—were zealous Buddhists, and were responsible for introducing Buddhist influence in the kingdom of their husband who came to be deified as the Buddha Avalokiteśvara. Prof. Sircar further pointed out that the Indian Siddhamātṛkā script, which is a derivative of Brāhmī, was adopted for writing the Tibetan language apparently about the same age. Sri D. K. Biswas said that it is wrong to connect Śāntarakṣita with the foundation of Buddhism in Tibet, while Prof. Sircar and Dr. A. K. Chatterjee suspected that Sarat Chandra Das has been misunderstood by Sri Bhattacharya. Prof. Sircar also said that Indian Buddhist monks, particularly those from Nepal, must have visited Tibet before the visit of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla during Thi-srong-de-tsan's reign.

2. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'Post-Śaśāṅka Gold Coins of Eastern India' in which he discussed the views of J. Allan, N. K. Bhattasali, S. K. Chakraborty and A. S. Altekar regarding the gold coins exhibiting the weight and fabric of the coinage of Śaśāṅka (c. 600–25 A.D.) of Gauḍa, which are found in the eastern Districts of Bengal and are assigned roughly to the latter part of the seventh century A. D. Prof. Sircar observed that, in the said period, the Rātas of Samataṭa who were nominal feudatories of the Gauḍa emperors were ousted by the Khaḍgas of Vaṅga, who were themselves overthrown by the Devas of Samataṭa about the close of the century, so that it was the rulers of these dynasties, especially the Khaḍgas and Devas, who issued the coins in questions. Names like Pṛthubala (usually read as Pṛthuvīra), occurring on the coins, appear to have been titles of the kings. A coin of the same type bearing the secondary name of a Deva ruler has been dis-

covered from the Mainamati excavations. Dr. S. P. Singh took part in the discussion on Prof. Sircar's paper.

[This note has been published above, pp. 186-92.]

3. Dr. S. P. Singh then read a note entitled 'Historical Importance of Vijayapurā' in which he said that the village of Vijayapurā (also called Vījapurā), about 3 miles to the south of Dhanaruā, headquarters of a Block in the Patna District of Bihar, is an important site having three old mounds associated with Lord Kṛṣṇa. Dr. Singh exhibited the finds containing 5 silver and 2 copper punch-marked coins, 24 cast copper coins, 8 each of stone and terracotta beads, and N. B. P., Grey-Ware and Black-Ware potsherds of fine fabric together with a small Red-Ware pot of typically Śuṅga style discovered from the mounds. Dr. Singh said that Vijayapurā, lying on the direct route from Pāṭaliputra to the Barabar hills and Bodhgayā, was an important place in the Maurya-Śuṅga period.

In the discussion that followed, Prof. Sircar referred to the importance of Magadha in the political and cultural history of ancient India and to the large number of inscribed and uninscribed images scattered in the villages of the Patna-Monghyr region. Prof. Sircar pointed out how some valuable image inscriptions were discovered by him from Valgudar in the Monghyr District of Bihar, which was the same as the ancient city of Krimilā, headquarters of the Krimilā district of early times. Sri A. K. Jha wanted to know whether the name of Vijayapurā occurs in any ancient Indian work. Prof. Sircar replied in the negative. Dr. Singh said that exploration of Vijayapurā is expected to yield more antiquities.

4. Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper entitled the 'Date of King Sugaticandra' in which he said that the *Deśāvalivivṛti* (MS No. 3582 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta) mentions Sugaticandra as a ruler of Pāṭaliputra under Mahendrāditya who conquered Asiketu (Sudhanvā), Dharmacandra (a Yogī king), Atikāya (son of Rāvaṇa) and Ratnacandra and also territories like Brahmadeśa and Ava, etc. Sri Majumdar referred to the views that Sugaticandra was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya or that he belonged to the age of Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. He himself, however, thought that Sugaticandra may not be placed earlier than the date of the foundation of Ava in the 13th or 14th century A.D.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that Sugaticandra was apparently an imaginary figure and that Ava was actually founded in 1364 A.D.

XLV

Thursday, the 17th December, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A., Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay,

M.A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A.; D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.; Sm. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M. A.; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A.; Sm. P. Chakraborty, M.A.; Sri A. S. Khatua, M. A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri B. P. Mishra read his note on Skanda-Kārttikeya in which he offered comments on Dr. A. K. Chatterjee's view that Kārttikeya developed out of the conceptions of Indra and Agni of the Ṛgvedic pantheon. Sri Mishra traced two of Kārttikeya's characteristics in the god Rudra as known from the *Yajurveda*, viz. the leadership of thieves and robbers as well as of the army of the gods. Besides, some minor similarities between the two deities were traced by Sri Mishra from the *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa*, the *Yajurveda Saṁhitās* and the Purāṇas together with mention of the god Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati in the Vedic literature.

Prof. Sircar observed that the names Gaṇapati and Gaṇeśa were not applied to the pot-bellied elephant-headed god who appear to have been a Nonaryan deity accepted in the Aryan pantheon not much earlier than the fourth century A. D. On a coin of Huviṣka (2nd century A. D.), the name Gaṇeśa is applied to a deity who is apparently Śiva. Prof. Sircar also pointed out that the images of Gaṇeśa are not earlier than the Gupta period. Dr. D. R. Das referred to some terracottas belonging to the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa age, which may be regarded as Gaṇeśa's prototypes.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that Kārttikeya's association with Agni is closer than with Rudra. Prof. Sircar regarded it as a matter of opinion. He also did not accept Sri Mishra's interpretation of Kārttikeya's epithet *Vināyakasena* as meaning 'whose army included Vināyaka'. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya said that Vināyaka may imply *viśiṣṭa-nāyaka*.

3. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee then read his note on the Vṛṣṇis in which he commented on Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri's paper appearing in the *Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography* (1970) edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar. According to Dr. Chatterjee, the Vṛṣṇis at first dwelt in the Mathurā region and, at a later date, migrated to Dvārakā as they failed to resist Jarāsandha's repeated attacks on Mathurā. Their migration to the west, Dr. Chatterjee argued, is not only recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and other early Purāṇas, but also in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*. He then quoted a stanza from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to show that, at a still later date, the tribe settled in the Punjab region and that it strongly supports the evidence of the Vṛṣṇi silver coin found from the Punjab and bearing both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī legends. Dr. Chatterjee observed that literary traditions are sometimes as reliable and trustworthy as epigraphs.

and coins. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya quoted from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to show its bearing on the migration of the Vṛṣṇis. He observed that, at least up to the time of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, the Yādavas did not found any colony in the Punjab and drew attention to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tradition regarding the invasion of the Yādava city of Mathurā by Gonarda I (a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira) under Jarāsandha's instigation. Prof. Sircar did not attach any importance to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tradition.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his note on a copper-plate grant of the kings of Tripura, of which a photograph had been received by him for examination from the Deputy Director of Education, Government of Tripura. Prof. Sircar observed that it records the grant of the village of Aulāyisār in Meherkul together with 20 Droṇas of land in Deśāvaska by king Kalyāṇa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā in Śaka 1581 in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Rāmanārāyaṇa. The grant was renewed, Prof. Sircar said, by the donor's son Govinda and grandson Rāma in the same Brāhmaṇa's favour while Rāma's son Ratna renewed it in favour of the donee's sons, Jayarāma and Viśvanātha, in Śaka 1607. The said four kings of Tripura (i.e. Kalyāṇamāṇikya, Govindamāṇikya, Rāmamāṇikya and Ratnamāṇikya II) are represented as devotees of the god Viṣṇu, and Prof. Sircar suggested that the grant was renewed by the successors of the original donor at the time of their coronation.

Sri B. P. Mishra and Sri R. K. Bhattacharya commented on Prof. Sircar's statement that, although the writer of the document began with the *maṅgala* '*Śrī-Durgā*', he abruptly began the record with a description of the boundaries of the gift village, which usually comes at the end of such documents. Sri Mishra quoted *āśīr=namaskriyā kāryā vastu-nirdeśa eva vā* and observed that the writing here starts with *vastu-nirdeśa*. Sri Bhattacharya said that *Śrī-Durgā* was the *maṅgala* in place of a stanza expected at the beginning of the document. Prof. Sircar thought that the beginning of a charter with the description of the boundaries of the gift land is rather unusual.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee wanted to know whether the Tripura chronicle *Rājamālā* is corroborated by numismatic and epigraphic evidence. Prof. Sircar replied that he had occasion to discuss the date of the chronicle in his *Śākta Pīṭhas* and came to the conclusion that even the earliest part of the present *Rājamālā* is not earlier than the 18th century, although he agreed that there are some genuine historical traditions in the work.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya said that the *Rājaratnākara* is earlier than the *Rājamālā*; but Prof. Sircar did not attach much importance to the claim of early date for either of the works.

4. Sri R. P. Majumdar read a note entitled 'Some Aspects of Mānāta-deśa according to the MS of the *Deśāvalīvivṛti*'. In the note, he referred to

Mānāta identified with Mahānāda in the Hooghly District and said that what has been read as *Rāḍha* in the *Deśāvalīvivṛti* seems to read *Rāṭa*. Prof. Sircar suspected that the reading of the name may be really *Rāḍha*. He also observed that what Sri Majumdar read as *Vaḍra* may be *Vaḍa* as read by others.

XLVI

Wednesday, the 27th January, 1971.

Present : Prof. D.C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. S.K. Mitra, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A. ; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri A. S. Khatua, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note on 'Stage and Drama in the *Harivaṁśa*'. According to Dr. Chatterjee, the description in that work shows the high degree of sophistication attained in the said matter by the ancient Indians. He further argued that a similar description is also given in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* which, according to him, was influenced by the *Harivaṁśa*. He also spoke about the performance of two plays, the most important feature of which is that women were allowed to play the role of ladies. Dr. Chatterjee further observed that the *Harivaṁśa* actually gives the name of the second play performed by the Yādavas at the capital of the Nonaryan king Vajranābha as *Rambhābhisāra* (II. 93.28) which was based on a story given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII. 26). He also criticised the view of Konow, according to whom the Indian drama originated only 100 years before Aśvaghoṣa. In this connexion he quoted the opinion of S. N. Dasgupta (*HSL*, Vol. I, pp. 630 ff.) regarding the origin of Indian drama, and expressed his agreement with that view.

Dr. S. K. Mitra asked whether the word *mahāraṅga* as used in the *Harivaṁśa* means a 'stage.' Dr. Chatterjee replied that the word was used to denote both a stage and a stadium in Indian literature. Prof. Sircar also agreed with this view. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay was not inclined to accept Dr. Chatterjee's contention that similarity of the Jātaka description with the *Harivaṁśa* account proves the antiquity of the present *Harivaṁśa* text. Prof. Sircar observed that both the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* may be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

2. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read a note on the 'Antiquity of Image Worship' in which he said that the mention of images as well as of the process of

their worship is found in the Vedic literature. The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* contains descriptions of images and references to temples in which they were installed. He therefore disagreed with those who hold, on the authority of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, that the worship of images in India originated during Maurya rule.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that what Sri Bhattacharya said was well known and the question also was more elaborately and ably discussed by many scholars including J. N. Banerjea. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee referred to a debate on the subject between Macdonell and Venkateswara in the pages of the *JRAS*, 1916-19. Prof. Sircar further observed that image worship was prevalent among the Harappans in proto-historic India and that it was later adopted by the Vedic people.

3. Sri B. P. Mishra read his note entitled '*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* Reference to the Śakuntalā Story'. He referred to some *gāthās* mentioning Bharata who is called *Dauṣyanti* (son of Duṣyanta) and is said to have been born of a nymph called Śakuntalā at a place called Nāḍapit. Sri Mishra relied on Harisvāmin and suggested that Nāḍapit was identical with the hermitage of Kaṇva. Bharata's name is included in the list of old kings performing the *Aśvamedha*, and this proves that the legend was handed down to the authors of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. This is also indicated by the fact that the *gāthās* are no doubt older than the Brāhmaṇa text. Sri Mishra held that the story is more developed in the *Mahābhārata*, on the basis of which Kālidāsa composed his *Abhijñānaśakuntalam*. The version of the legend found in the *Padma Purāṇa* was considered by Sri Mishra to be later than Kālidāsa's story.

Prof. Sircar also believed that the *Padma Purāṇa* account is influenced by Kālidāsa's drama. Sri Mishra said that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage in question mentions all the main characters and this is significant.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar read two notes, in the first of which entitled 'Hoarding of Coins', he disagreed with some of the views expressed by R. C. Majumdar in *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, while in the second note on 'Ardhanārī-Gaṇapati', he pointed out certain mistakes of D. C. Bhattacharya in his paper published in *JAS*, Vol. VII (1966).

Majumdar thinks that many hoards contain a small number of coins which the owners could have easily carried with them instead of hiding them under the earth in the case of foreign invasion. Prof. Sircar pointed out that carrying of even a small amount of money on the thoroughfares was not safe for one's life in ancient and medieval India. Again Majumdar believes that the Bayana hoard containing the coins of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta must have been the result of hoarding by several generations. Prof. Sircar, however, pointed out that, according to

the early Indian practice, the coins of Skandagupta's predecessors were all current in the market in his time, so that the hoarding could have been done even in a single generation. Regarding Prof. Sircar's remark that old coins continued to circulate in the market even after several centuries, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that this is also borne out by such early texts as the *Aṅgavijjā*.

5. The defects in D. C. Bhattacharya's paper pointed out by Prof. Sircar in his second note included the following. Ardhanārī-Gaṇeśa's epithet *bīja-pūr-ādi-śumbhad-daśa-bhuja-lalita* (holding a citron and bearing ten arms) in the *Śilparatna* stanza has been wrongly understood to mean 'the god is the beloved of Śiva and is adorned with rosary, etc.', there being an apparent confusion between the word *śumbhat* and the name Śambhu (Śiva). Secondly, Prof. Sircar did not accept Bhattacharya's suggestions that Ardhanārī-Gaṇapati is an elephant-headed female because, Prof. Sircar pointed out, the latter is Gaṇeśānī (whose images have been discovered) and nobody could have confused an Ardhanārī form with a female form.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya said that the description of Śakti-Gaṇapati reminds one of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; but Prof. Sircar pointed out that Gaṇapati does not occur there. Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay wanted to know the antiquity of the Gaṇeśānī images. Prof. Sircar replied that they are all medieval, though terracotta image of an elephant-headed female deity has been assigned to a date about the beginning of the Christian era. This proves, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, that worship of elephant-headed deities was prevalent among Nonaryans, but was later adopted by the Brāhmaṇical Hindus.

XLVII

Wednesday, the 17th February, 1971.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A. ; Sri A. S. Khatua, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. Sm. K. Saha read a note entitled '*Rājadharma* in Pali Literature' in which she discussed some references to the king's duties in the Pali texts, with special reference to the well-known *dasa-rājadhammā* (i. e. ten duties of the king), viz. *dāna, sīla, pariccāga, akkodha, avihiṁsā, khanti, ajjava, maddava, tapo* and *avirodhana*. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay and Prof. D.C.

Sircar observed that the title of Dr. Sm. Saha's note indicates a scope much wider than her treatment of the subject. Since her studies are restricted to a few Pali texts, they pointed out, the title of the paper may better be 'Rājadharma in Some Pali Texts'. Dr. D. R. Das observed that there was hardly anything novel in the paper. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that the Sanskrit *gāthās* were often translated into Pali. Prof. Sircar, however, pointed out that whether the *gāthās*, probably belonging to the popular floating literature, were originally written in Sanskrit or Prakrit-Pali cannot be ascertained.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note on the Uttara-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He said that its author represented Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and argued that he was influenced by the teachings of the *Gītā*. Dr. Chatterjee also drew attention to a number of verses devoted to lord Śiva. He said that according to one verse (108.5), S'rāvastī was founded by Rāma for his second son Lava; but that the *Mahābhārata* (III. 202.4) and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV.2.37) connect the foundation of the city with S'rāvasta, a predecessor of Rāma. In Dr. Chatterjee's opinion, the migration of Ila from Bāhlika to Madhyadeśa throws light on the eastward march of the Aryans.

Dr. S. K. Mitra wanted to know the date of the Uttara-kāṇḍa which Dr. Chatterjee considered to be pre-Christian. Prof. D. C. Sircar did not agree with this date and assigned the latest section of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, to which the Uttara-kāṇḍa belongs, not much earlier than the 2nd century A.D. Regarding the foundation of the city of S'rāvastī by Rāma referred to by Dr. Chatterjee, Prof. Sircar did not think that Rāma has been mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* stanza as the founder of the city. In connection with Dr. Chatterjee's argument regarding the deification of Rāma in the late Uttara-kāṇḍa, Sri B. P. Mishra said that there are a number of passages in the earlier books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* wherein Rāma has been conceived as the supreme god. Prof. Sircar pointed out that Rāma's deification is found generally in the late Ādi- and Uttara-kāṇḍa, but is rare elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

3. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read his note on the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II, in which he referred to the interpretations of the terms *S'arabhaṅga* and *Rājakula* offered by various scholars. He referred to Sircar's interpretation of *S'arabhaṅga* of the early medieval inscriptions as an official designation derived from Persian *Sarhang* and observed that *S'arabhaṅga* of the Sanchi inscription may also be taken in the same sense. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya observed that early Indian writers, including Kālidāsa, mention Śarabhaṅga as a personal name. Prof. Sircar pointed out that early medieaval Sanskrit records mention *S'arabhaṅga* not as a personal name, but as an official designation. so that the same word in the Sanchi inscription may be interpreted either as a personal name or as an official designation.

[The note has been published above, pp. 214-17.]

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar exhibited a Bengali document, written on hand-made paper and dated in 1209 Bengali Sāl (1803 A. D.). It records the hire of a cow belonging to Gaurasundara Adhikārī by Rāmajaya Dāsa of Bāṇīyāḍa in the month of Māgha on condition that the cow would be returned to the owner in the month of Aṣāḍha and that hiring charges of sixteen *kāṭhās* of paddy would be paid in two instalments, half in *Āuś* paddy and the other half in *Āman*. The purpose of hire seems to be to use the cow in tilling Rāmajaya's fields. This sort of hire has been called *dhānuwā* (from *dhān*, paddy). The interesting word *gābhi-garup* (i. e. *gāi-goru*) is used to indicate 'a cow'. Dr. S. P. Singh wanted to know the findspot of the document. Prof. Sircar said that he was not quite sure about that, though the provenance of the record may be a village near Faridpur in East Pakistan.

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar next read a note dealing with an article appearing in *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, in which Mahāmahopādhyāy Prof. Dr. V. V. Mirashi complains that his interpretations of epigraphic and numismatic data were being criticised by Prof. Sircar out of personal grudge during the past thirty years. Prof. Sircar pointed out that he considers Mirashi to be a great scholar and that he commented only on the latter's unsound views to draw the attention of younger scholars in the field, so that they may judge the views in the light of the criticism before accepting them. The purpose underlying this is to raise the standard of Indian scholarship. That such controversies do not mean disrespect is clear from the fact, Prof. Sircar pointed out, that some of his earliest writings contain comments on the views of his revered teachers, H. C. Raychaudhuri and D. R. Bhandarkar. While the largest number of his controversies are with Dr. R. C. Majumdar, he has exhibited his highest regards for that great Indologist in the dedication of his work on *Society*. Prof. Sircar pointed out that he had often published, in journals edited by himself, comments on his own views sometimes from the pen even of his own pupils. He also observed that his language of criticism could not have been unbecoming because, in that case, the editors of the various periodicals, in which they appeared, would not have published them. On this last point, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that the editors might have published Prof. Sircar's papers out of respect for his eminence as a scholar. Prof. Sircar said that he is alleged to have been attacking Dr. Mirashi for the past three decades and he was but a young man in the field 30 years ago.

XLVIII

Thursday, the 25th March, 1971.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil ; Dr. S. Bandyopa-

dhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M. A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee referred to the untimely death of Sri Ramprasad Majumdar, M. A., who worked for sometime under Prof. D. C. Sircar as a Research Fellow in the *UGC* scheme of a Topographical List of Indian Inscriptions. Prof. Sircar mentioned Sri Majumdar's eagerness to carry on research work and his great enthusiasm in reading papers at the Monthly Seminars of the Centre. The members and guests stood up and kept silence for two minutes in honour of the deceased.

2. Sri R. K. Billorey read his note on an image from Bhojpur near Bhopal (M. P.). He exhibited the photograph of a figure bearing four arms and a demon's face shown in his stomach or on his belly with a plant issuing out of its mouth. Sri Billorey observed that the figure may be a Gaṇa image, though its significance cannot be determined. He further observed that such representations are noticed in a Buddhist relief from Amarāvatī, in the Bhumara temple, the Varāha temple at Kohala (former Indore State), Cave I at Badami, the Durgā temple at Aihole, Cave III at Aurangabad and the Mahākāleśvara temple at Bagh and at Prambanam in Java. Sri Billorey pointed out that the face-on-belly motif also occurs in Mexican, Chinese and African art. He thought that the stone may have supported the figure of an *apsaras*.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the figure reminded him of the Bengali version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* according to which Hanumat is represented as having once torn up his chest in order to show his beloved Rāma and Sītā inside. Sri B. P. Mishra referred to the figure of the demon Kabandha who had his face on his belly. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that Kabandha had no head on his shoulders. Dr. D. R. Das pointed out that the Bhojpur figure has been published in an issue of the *Indian Archaeology—A Review*. Dr. S. P. Singh enquired whether a mount is represented on the stone. Prof. Sircar replied in the negative.

[The note has been published above, pp. 301-02.]

3. Dr. A. K. Chartterjee read his note on the civic sense of the ancient Indians in which he endeavoured to show that the people of ancient India were endowed with a high degree of civic sense. He quoted from the works of Marshall and Wheeler to show that the Harappans enjoyed more civic amenities than their contemporaries in Sumer and Egypt. The drainage system of Mohenjodaro has no parallel elsewhere. The descriptions of big cities in

various texts reveal that efforts were made to make the life of citizens comfortable. He quoted from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Arthaśāstra* and the Smṛtis and said that dropping filth on the roads was not allowed and punishments are prescribed for committing nuisance at wrong places as well as for negligent driving. Dr. Chatterjee emphasised the ancient Indian's consciousness about their duties towards neighbours and referred to Jātaka No. 31 speaking of a man endowed with high civic sense.

Prof. D. C. Sircar did not think that the ancient Indians had greater civic sense and enjoyed more civic amenities than the people of modern India. He regarded the prescriptions referred to by Dr. Chatterjee as more or less theoretical and doubted the practicability of their general application in this vast country or even in its big cities. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya quoted the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in support of Dr. Chatterjee. Sri B. P. Mishra observed that the title of the paper is more comprehensive than the treatment of the subject, while Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay opined that the paper was more theoretical than practical. Sri D. K. Biswas observed that some of the rules were prescribed only for the upper castes.

[The note has been published above, pp. 203-36.]

4. Prof. D. C Sircar read his note on the alleged matriarchal affiliations of the Pāṇḍavas in which he criticised those who try to explain Draupadī's polyandry by drawing attention to Pāṇḍu's Āsura marriage with Mādrī of the matriarchal Madra clan, Bhīma's matrilocal marriage with Hiḍimbā, Arjuna's marriage with Citrāṅgadā indicating matrilineal inheritance, Arjuna tracing the origin of his family to the divine damsel Urvaśī, the Pāṇḍavas being called 'sons of Kuntī' more often than Duryodhana and his brothers are called 'sons of Gāndhārī', and the Pāṇḍavas having come from South India where matriarchy prevailed. Prof. Sircar pointed out that Āsura was accepted as a respectable form of marriage since the later Vedic age while many other people married girls of the Madra and other matrilineal clans without developing polyandrous habits. Likewise, he drew attention to the matrilocal marriage of the Brāhmaṇa Jaratkāru with Vāsuki's sister. The Arjuna-Citrāṅgadā marriage, Prof. Sircar pointed out, involves the custom of *Putrikā-putra* which is fully recognised in the Vedic literature. As regards Urvaśī, Prof. Sircar showed that she is represented not as the mother of the Pāṇḍavas but of the Pauravas with whom the episode very clearly associates the Pāṇḍavas. If the first three Pāṇḍavas are often called 'sons of Kuntī', that is apparently to distinguish them, according to Prof. Sircar, from their step-brothers, 'the sons of Mādrī or Mādravatī'. Finally, Prof. Sircar pointed out that Kātyāyana, Megasthenes and some early Jain works suggest that it was the Pāṇḍavas who moved from north to south. He then observed that none of the facts explain Draupadī's polyandry and that the said attempt

to explain it is based on a superficial study of the sources. Dr. A.K. Chatterjee agreed with Prof. Sircar and referred to 'Dhanañjaya Kauravya' and 'Yudhiṣṭhira Kauravya' of the Pali texts. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya cited the polyandrous marriage of Jaṭilā Gautamī and Vārkṣī. Sri B. P. Mishra referred to the marriage of Sūryā with the twin Aśvins, which, according to him, was a case of polyandry. Prof. Sircar, however, doubted the genuineness of the case because it was not cited by any early writer in support of Draupadī's polyandry. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya observed that polyandry prevailed and still prevails in India. Prof. Sircar pointed out that he was concerned not with the prevalence of the practice, but with the attempt to explain the polyandrous marriage of Draupadī.

XLIX

Thursday, the 22nd April, 1971.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K.Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. S. Das, M.A. ; Sri Sunil K. Das, M. A. ; Sri A. S. Khatua, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil. ; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his note on the position of the Śūdras in the epics. He tried to show that the Śūdras have been more favourably treated in the epics than in the Vedas. Dr. Chatterjee observed that some Śūdra characters are endowed with greatness. In his opinion, in their description, the epic poets rose above caste and colour prejudices.

Disagreeing with Dr. Chatterjee's views, Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the social position of the people is not uniform even in different localities in the same area, so that, e.g., in Bengal, the water offered by a Kāyastha does not pollute a Brāhmaṇa in most parts excluding a few centres of Brāhmaṇa population. The attitude towards the Śūdras, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, varied from place to place and community to community and often also on personal grounds and various kinds of reasons (cf. Risley, *The People of India*, 1915, pp. 117, 119). Dr. Chatterjee thought that there is a difference between the theory represented by the Dharmaśāstras and the practice as indicated by the epics. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya supported Dr. Chatterjee. Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that much reliance should not be placed on theoretical evidences, while Sri D. K. Biswas drew attention to the fact that, in the *Mahābhārata* story of the burning of a Niṣāda woman along with her five sons in the

Jatugṛha, nobody is represented as expressing sorrow for the incident. Dr. Chatterjee regarded the Niṣāda woman's story as an interpolation.

2. Sri S. K. Das read his note on Husain Shāh's Assam expedition, in which he did not accept the view that Husain Shāh conquered Kāmrūp between 1498 and 1502 A.D. and suggested that the conquest of Kāmrūp-Kāmtā was completed between 1493 and 1498. Sri Das also tried to show that Husain Shāh's Assam expedition was a campaign against the Bhuñās and not against the Ahoms.

Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to Husain Shāh's claim of subjugation of Kāmrūp, Kāmtā and Jājnagar or Orissa. Of these, the subjugation of the Khen kingdom of Kāmtā lying between the Karatoyā and the Barnadī was a reality, but that his campaigns against the Sūryavaṁśīs of Orissa and the Ahoms of Kāmrūp did not produce any lasting results. Dr. A. N. Lahiri referred to Husain Shāh's claim to have conquered Tripurā. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay was inclined to agree with the views expressed by Sri Das.

3. Dr. S. K. Mitra read his note on the social value of the *Anuvratas*. Enumerating the great vows, he said that the *Vratas* constitute the main plank of the Jain religion, as they are linked with their basic doctrine of *Karman*, the Kārmaṇa blemishes being the root cause of man's suffering. Dr. Mitra also dealt with the importance of *ahiṁsā* for both the Jain monks and the laymen. Sri D. K. Biswas referred to the descriptive nature of the note. The Buddhists, he pointed out, put emphasis on the ethical side while the Jains on the metaphysical. Sri Biswas said that the Jains' doctrine of *ahiṁsā* is much more rigid than that practised by the Buddhists. In his opinion, the Buddhists and Jains are not so conscious about social welfare, but attach importance to their own uplift. As regards *ahiṁsā*, Prof. Sircar drew attention to kings like the Buddhist Aśoka and the Jain Kumārapāla who considered the life of an insect as equally important or even more important than human life. Regarding the points raised by Sri Biswas, Dr. S. K. Mitra said that the rigidity of *ahiṁsā* is for the monks and not for the lay followers. He further pointed out that the Jains' consciousness of social welfare is indicated by their emphasis on gift in various forms. He also said that the Buddha's mission was to free the whole world from sufferings.

4. Sri B. P. Mishra read his note on *Rdūdara* (cf. *Rgveda*, II. 33.5). He said that the meaning of the word was not clear even to Yāska. Sri Mishra pointed out that, as Sāyaṇa assigns different meanings to the term, his explanations are not reliable. Sri Mishra was inclined to derive *ṛdū*, from the root *ṛd*, 'to go', and to take *ṛdūdara* in the sense of "a person with his stomach increasing".

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that it is difficult to be sure about the meaning of the word.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

XLVIII*

INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT by Shrinivas Ritti and G. C. Shelke; published by Yashwant Mahavidyalaya, Nanded, 1968; pages lxix and 260, 19 plates, and 1 map; price Rs. 40.00.

The wealth of epigraphic material in South India hardly needs to be underlined to any one with some knowledge of the early sources of Indian history. Recent compilation of this material, however, has been generally in a form which makes it inaccessible to the non-specialist, although it is only when the material reaches, from the trained epigraphist (who is not necessarily a historian), the historian (who does not always have to be a sound epigraphist) that epigraphic study achieves its true significance. The present work may claim it to a certain extent.

The book deals with fifty inscriptions, all collected from the Nanded District of Maharashtra. The findspots of the records are indicated on a map. The inscriptions range in time between the eighth and the eighteenth century and thus provide excellent data for a study of the historical development of Nanded over a millennium.

The plan of the book follows the pattern set by B. L. Rice in his monumental volumes entitled *Epigraphia Carnatica* with this exception that, here we have gists in place of the complete translations of the epigraphs. The Introduction is followed by transliteration of the epigraphs in Devanāgarī, Kannaḍa and Roman scripts, summaries of their contents, plates and a map and an index. With the proper use of diacritical marks, transliterations of a record in Roman script can dispense with duplication and save space; but the arrangement adopted here is, in any case, certainly more useful than that of the volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions*.

Of the fifty inscriptions, fortyfive belong to the early mediaeval families like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kalyāṇa-Cālukyas, Kalacuris* and Yādavas and a number of feudatory lines, while five belong to a much later date. The introduction seeks to bring out the historical importance of the early mediaeval inscriptions. It introduces a number of previously unknown families and personalities, and collates relevant information on the administration, economy and religious and educational centres and practices of the Nanded area. The data relating to the new feudatory lines, administration and such religious communities as the Kālāmukha sect are justifiably highlighted.

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* The number of reviews published in the earlier volumes is 47 as follows: Vol. I—13, Vol. II—18, and Vol. III—16.

The conventional preoccupation with details of genealogy and chronology has, however, led the authors to somewhat lose the historical perspective and, despite the lengthy introduction and the material supplied by the epigraphs, the history of Nanded does not emerge clearly in the book. The distribution of the epigraphs indicating their concentration in the Godavari-Mannar-Lendi valley in the south and the Penganga valley in the north could be studied briefly in relation to comparable distributions in adjacent districts and it would thus have been possible to examine how the expanding settlements at Nanded and its consequent importance started.

Some of the assumptions and reconstructions in the work also appear rather strained. Some relevant examples may be cited here. First, the claim about the pre-Rāṣṭrakūṭa antiquity and importance of Nanded (p. vi) or the establishment of Kandhārapura (p. xxi) is not borne out by the evidence cited ; from the material presented in the book, it is impossible to trace the history of the region earlier than the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. [Cf. the Basim plates.—Ed.] Secondly, the reconstruction of Vahni genealogy is inconsistent, one table (p. xxviii) being different from another (p. li.) In the first, Kalicora II is shown, in conformity with epigraphic evidence, as the brothers's son of Karka ; in the second, where a more detailed genealogical-chronological table is reconstructed, Kalicora II is made the elder brother of Karka, three consecutive generations of Kalicoras, two of them having wives with identical names, are introduced and Kalicora I is referred to 1079 A. D. (inscription No. 10 associates Karka with this date). This results partly from the anxiety to refer the Hottul inscription (No. 33) to the period of Someśvara II and to identify Karka with Arga. Thirdly, in the section on administration, the varying numbers of villages under Sakkarage are arbitrarily corrected (p. liv, note 27). It seems possible that, in the administrative division of Sakkarage, the number of villages was not always the same.

There are some misprints (*n* is generally used for *ṅ*) and also a few grammatical errors. These, however, do not detract from the main value of the work, which is that it adds, in the form of fifty well-edited inscriptions, substantially to the existing stock of early mediaeval records and supplies indispensable material for an area-study.

B. D. Chattopadhyaya

XLIX

KARNATAK INSCRIPTIONS, Vol. V, by Dr. B.R. Gopal, publihed by the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar ; pages xi+358, with 5 plates ; price Rs. 15.00.

The book is a welcome sequel to the other volumes of the *Karnatak Inscriptions* already published in the series. Herein are edited 137 inscriptions,

and, although as many as 25 of them do not come from within the modern boundaries of Karnatak, most of them relate to the dynasties which had Karnatak as the main centre of their power or were otherwise affiliated to it. The rationale of including some unattributed records (e. g. Nos. 118, 119, 124) in this volume is not, however, clear.

The dynasties represented by the records edited in the volume are Early Cālukya of Badami, Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Malkhed, Cālukya of Kalyāṇa, Kaḷacuri of Kalyāṇa, Seuṇa of Devagiri, Hoysaḷa of Dvārasamudra, Vijayanagara, Raṭṭa of Saundatti, Kadamba of Hangal, Kadamba of Goa, Sinda of Yelburga, and an unnamed mediaeval dynasty of Śvetapurī or Biḷige. There are some unattributed records besides. The date of the earliest record is 578 A. D. ; the latest recognizable date is 1784. The volume thus offers a fair sample of mainly the dynastic inscriptional records of Karnatak of about 1200 years.

In the method of editing the records and publishing his results, Dr. Gopal has generally followed his predecessors, R. S. Panchamukhi and A. M. Annigeri : the texts of the inscriptions are arranged dynastywise and given in Kannaḍa characters (except in cases where the original character is Nāgarī) and each text is preceded by a gist of its contents in English. The textual part, however, follows a fairly lengthy historical introduction which deals with new information relating to dynastic history, administrative personnel, socio-economic conditions, composers of *praśastis*, religious orders and so on. The introduction will certainly be useful to those who would like to keep uptodate with new findings in different areas of Karnatak history. One could, however, wish that the diacritical marks used throughout the volume were more consistent ; cf. *Grihya sūtras* (p. xiii), Jagattunga (p. xiv), Ganga Marasingha (p. xv), Jayasimha (p.xvi), *Sarvajna-nripa* (pp. xix, 88), Bhattagāves (p. xix), *Kriti* (p. xxviii), Sarvvajna-Paṭṭavardhana (pp. xxvii-xxviii), *pamcha pada* (p. xxxiv), Mūlasamgha (p. xxxv), etc.

Historians who do not have a working knowledge in Kannaḍa will have some difficulty in utilising the records dealt with in the volume. There may be different angles from which any single record may be approached, as historical problems vary considerably from one historian to another. To the researcher, the record itself, in its entirety, is important for purposes of comparative work, the gists of individual records and the long introduction revealing only the nature of the Editor's emphasis. [But even a translation is not quite free from the Translator's emphasis.—Ed.] This certainly does not reflect on the excellent work done by Dr. Gopal who has largely followed the layout of the preceding volumes in the series (and this has also been the mode, for some time, of the *South Indian Inscriptions* series) ; but one could

only wish for a change in the editorial policy so that the records could be more accessible to scholars who would like to study the historical material of Karnatak, but are not properly linguistically equipped for that purpose. [Thousands of inscriptions have to be published and they should be published as quickly as possible; and to publish them with translation involves inordinate delay.—Ed.]

B. D. Chattopadhyaya

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STUDIES IN THE SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE COMPLEX by T. V. Mahalingam, published by the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, pp. 89, with 11 plates; price Rs. 7.00, $ 2.00.

This monograph contains three lectures delivered by the author at the Kannada Research Institute in 1967. Its aim is to make a typological study of the structural unit of a temple and the axial and peristylar adjuncts in the temple complex in South India, expecially in the Tamil country. In Lecture I, the author shows how, after the very first ritual in the construction being conceived as the *garbhādhāna*, the various parts of the structure are nomenclaturally equated with different limbs of the human body. It is followed by a discussion of references to building architecture in the Saṅgam literature. Early caves in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, architectural terms in early Tamil literature, *vimāna*. different kinds of *śikharas*, *vimāna* above the cornice, *sāndhāra* and *nirandhāra* types of shrines, *vimānas* with more than one sanctum and influences on the shapes and types of *vimānas* are the other subjects covered by the same lecture.

The South Indian temple complex shows a central shrine preceded by *maṇḍapas* and encircled by *prākāras*. The former consisting of the central shrine, *maṇḍapas*, *pīṭhas* for *vāhanas*, *dhvajastambha*, *gopuras*, etc., constitutes the axial part and its adjuncts, and the latter, the peristylar parts, include *parivāra* shrines, pillared cloisters or corridors, temple kitchen, well, etc.

In Lecture II, the author deals with the structures aligned axially. The peristylar shrines including the *garbhagṛha* and the adjuncts around it, viz. the Devī shrines, the shrines for the *parivāra-devatās*, the Nāyaṉārs and Āḻvārs, besides other deities and saints of local importance glorified and sanctified in legends and *Sthalapurāṇas* are the subject of the concluding Lecture. The discussion starts with a brief notice of the installation of different images in the niches and tiers of the *vimāna*. Generally known as *vimāna-devatās*, these deities are found to appear on the exterior walls of the temple as early as the Pallava period. The author shows how the number of these deities increased with the passage of time and how wide experimentations were made regarding their disposition. With the increasing rise of the

gopura, the *vimāna* began to diminish in height and lose much of its imposing form. This tendency started in the late Coḷa period. Consequently, a shift of *devakoṣṭhas* from *vimāna* to *gopura* was noticed. Also with the late Coḷa period, a need for building a separate shrine for the Devī, the consort of the presiding deity, was felt. So far as ritual importance is concerned, the Devī shrine is second only to the main shrine. In the Śaiva temples, her chamber facing south is usually placed near the central one with a common *maṇḍapa* for both. But in a *Vaiṣṇava* temple, it is built separately in the south-west corner of the inner circuit and opens in the direction which the god is facing. The crystalisation of the concept of the *parivāra-devatās* brought into existence shrines for such deities in the temple compound. As early as the 8th century A.D., in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kancipuram, the *parivāra-devatās* are found to have been provided with cells. This practice continued through the succeeding periods along with certain changes and increase of constituents in the *parivāra* group. Besides the Śaiva temples, their shrines are occasionally found in the temples of other deities as well. However, after the 11th century, the *parivāra-devatās* as a collective entity no longer commanded significance as they did previously.

In shrines, *maṇḍapas* and other similar architectural components of both the axial and peristylar adjuncts of temple complex, the *toraṇa* appears frequently as a decorative device. The many varieties it displays and the interesting changes it has undergone give it a place of special interest. The *śilpa* texts dwell at length on the typology of the *toraṇas* of which the most important is the *makara-toraṇa*. In the earlier structures built during the Pallava period, the *makara-toraṇa* decoration is rather flat; but under the Coḷas it tended to become semi-circular and finally developed into an exaggeratedly tall shape. During the Vijayanagar period, the *toraṇa* was replaced by a *pañjara* design.

Within the limitations of a short monograph, the author has tackled all these topics with admirable clarity. Prof. Mahalingam's work, brief as it is, removes a long-felt need by endeavouring to explain the development of the different component parts of the temple in Tamil Nadu through the ages. It is a subject conveniently bypassed by early and modern scholars. As the author says, each of the topics dealt with by him demands elaborate study. We hope that future researchers will do proper justice to this fascinating subject. The line sketches contained in the book are very useful for a beginner to understand different sections of a temple. But ground plans showing the positions of the axial and peristylar parts of the temple complex should not have been omitted. Moreover, the general remark that the three main divisions of Indian temple style were not based on their distribution zones goes against the evidence of the *śilpa* texts. However disagreeable their state-

ments may be, it is a fact that the canon-makers distinguished the temples according to their location. The reader may also be inclined to know the factors that contributed to the dwarfing of the main shrine and the increased height of the *gopura*. The proportion in which the height of the respective structures was decreased and increased requires to be shown. At least a sample survey can be conducted in this direction. The techniques involving the construction of the temples and their changes, if any, throughout the various stages of evolution are not at all touched. On the whole, however, the book under review sets a standard for any research worker on South Indian architecture.

Dipakranjan Das

LI

EARLY TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE IN KARNATAKA AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS by K. V. Soundara Rajan, published by the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1969; pp. 73 with 21 plates and 2 maps; price Rs. 7.00 or $ 2.00.

The book under review Presents the subject matter of three lectures delivered by the author at the Kannada Research Institute in 1968. Its three chapters deal respectively with 'Origins and Formative Stages', 'Standardization of Archetypes' and 'Canonical and Aesthetical Elements'. Besides, there is a table of temple categories, a glossary of architectural terms and an index.

The rise of the Cālukyas in the Western Deccan towards the close of the sixth century A.D. synchronised with the re-establishment of Purāṇic Hinduism in that region where Buddhism was so long the dominant religious force. [This is not quite correct.—Ed.] And with it, Hindu architecture of the structural order in stone started making sure and steady steps towards ultimate formulations. At the initial stage, experiments were made with threefold temple fabric, viz. indigenous, outlandish and archetypal forms. The enterprising centres of this phase were Aihole, Bādāmi, Mahākūṭa and some other places.

Soon after the formative phase, Kannaḍa architects assembled as many as five different forms of temple. These include the *Rekha-nāgara-prāsāda* (Hucchimalligudi, Aihole), the *Kadamba-nāgara* or *Piḍhā-deul*, and the 'triple facets' of the Southern Vimāna form, viz. the *Drāviḍa* (Makuṭeśvara, Mahākūṭa), *Nāgara* (Upper Śivālaya, Bādāmi) and *Vesara* (Durgā temple, Aihole). The *Kadamba-nāgara* variety of stepped and multi-tiered superstructure, exemplified by the Mallikārjuna and Galaganātha temples of Aihole, and the eastern group at Mahākūṭa, unites in one the *Rekha-Nāgara-prāsāda* and the

southern storeyed form, and retains its intrinsic merit as an indigenous model in the coastal Koṅkaṇa tract. "Its inherent values are manifest in the lack of *sukanāsa*, despite the use of *āmalaka* for the top as well as the *Karṇa-bhūmi* in some cases as at Aihole, and the abbreviation this model makes of the quadrental (*sic*) or slopy *kapotas* as roof-slabs" (p. 10).

The vigorous patronage that the art activities received around the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. inspired the / artist to go on from one innovation to another within the framework of the regional norms. While the southern parts of Karṇāṭaka were influenced by Drāviḍa builders and the northern by Central and Upper India, its prime centres around Aihole, Bādāmi and Paṭṭa-ḍakal, and at Ellora in Western India, and in the middle and eastern Āndhra zones (as in the Kurnool-Mahboobnagar and Krishna-Guntur regions respectively) offered their own special contribution through an early assimilation and regeneration of the *Rekha-nāgara-prāsāda* and the southern *Vimāna* orders, giving rise to almost a fresh set of idioms, typical of the region, but integrating and polarising the trends, already imbibed. From these archetypes of home zones developed the Gaṅga, Nolamba and Bāṇa sub-styles.

The sanctum in a Karṇāṭaka temple is placed at the top level of the stone plinth or *adhiṣṭhāna*. Early Cālukyan temples following the southern tradition do not show any built-up *jagatī* terrace around the shrine proper, as is found in North Indian temples. The stone *liṅgas* or images these temples enshrined were either fixed in a regular *pīṭha* (pedestal) or raised over the floor with only a semblance of a *piṇḍikā* or ridged border around it on the floor. In conformity with the Āgamas, the *śikhara* shape almost fixes the shape of the *pīṭha*, an octagonal *śikhara* thus having an octagonal *pīṭha* in the sanctum, and a circular *śikhara* indicating a circular or elliptical *pīṭha*, and a square *śikhara* a square *pīṭha*. The position of the *liṅga* with reference to its *pīṭha* was never fixed originally by devices which obtained later, such as the Brahmanadī, the *pārśvasūtras*, etc.

The Kannaḍa builder was the first to adopt the *śukanāsa* feature in temple architecture. However, the most spectacular manifestation of the Karṇāṭaka temple order is the differentiation of its *śikhara* idiom. It shows the *Rekha-nāgara* curvilinear, the *Kadamba-nāgara* variant with *āmalaka* on top but without (or with) *śukanāsa*, and the southern *Vimāna* forms with octagonal (*Drāviḍa*), square (*Nāgara*) and circular or apsidal (*Vesara*) *śikhara* forms. Bridging the gulf between the northern and southern orders of architecture, the Karṇāṭaka region reared up a new series of structural experimentations in stone in all the three directions, viz. the *Rekha-nāgara* of the north, the *Kadamba* slopy roof and quadrantal *śikhara* of the coastal west, and the *Vimāna* order of the south, with great success, elaboration and virtuosity.

This in brief is the content of the monograph under review. With his first-hand knowledge of the monuments, surveyed by the author, he has been able to place before us a scholarly account of the temple building movement in ancient Karṇāṭaka. He sees the whole thing in a new perspective and presents many new findings of great value. But at the same time, one may not agree with several of his suggestions. His coining of the expression *Kadamba-nāgara* is not likely to get ready acceptance. The stepped pyramidal roof of this type of temples has little in common with the curvilinear *Nāgara-śikhara* or the tiered pyramidal roof of the *Piḍhā-deul.* On the other hand, it bears some resemblance with temples at Pindara, Kalsar, etc., in Kathiawar. Again the classification of southern *Vimānas* as *Nāgara*, *Vesara* and *Drāviḍa*, on the basis of the shape of *śikhara* (the domical crowning member) requires further consideration. Moreover, this sort of classification cannot accommodate the Durgā temple at Aihole within the *Vesara* group as the author has done (p. 10). The author has also not explored the possibility of megalithic inspiration behind the temple architecture in Karṇāṭaka. We may refer in this connection to a very valuable article published by O. Viennot in *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome XVIII, pp. 23 ff.

The author's language lacks lucidity and makes the reader gasp before he can understand what the author wants to say. It also suffers from grammatical errors and wrong use of phrases and idioms. Considering the number of plates, the price of the book is moderate. But drawings showing the plans and sections of some representative monuments would have increased its value. Another defect is the absence of diacritical marks in the spelling of Indian words in Roman.

D. R. DAS

LII

REVENUE SYSTEM IN POST-MAURYA AND GUPTA TIMES by Dwijendra Narayan Jha, published by Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1967; pp. xv+235; price Rs. 25.00.

Dr. Jha has tried to follow up the inquiry undertaken by M. H. Gopal in his *Mauryan Public Finance* and has confined his study to the period "from the fall of the Mauryas in 185 B. C. to the break up of the Gupta empire in 550 A.D." Of course none of the evidences dealt with by him is new; but the credit of the author lies in his attempt at interpreting and corelating his sources in such a manner as to present a clear and full picture of the revenue system of the post-Maurya and Gupta times.

The book contains twelve chapters, bibliography, index and errata. In the first chapter, an evaluation is made of the evidence of various legal and literary works written in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. The importance of epi-

graphy has been emphasised. Dr. Jha takes the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* to be a work of the early Śātavāhana period, though the references to the week-day, Vikrama and Rādhikā suggest a much later date. [For the date of the Jātakas, reference to Winternitz's *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, pp. 121-22, as done by the author at p. 4, is misleading ; see *ibid.*, p. 156.—Ed.]

In the second Chapter, the author tries to determine the king's position in relation to land, i.e. whether land was owned by the village communities, by private individuals or by the king himself. He thinks that there were individual landholdings and the land-holder had a general right to enjoy his land at pleasure. But an individual proprietor exercised only a qualified ownership over his land, the king being its ultimate lord, in which capacity presumably he levied taxes from the people.

The principles that determined tax imposition form the subject matter of the third chapter. The author says that the similarity between ancient Indian approach to taxation and modern principles of public finance is superficial and, in their application, the two differ widely. The lawyers seem to have been primarily concerned with ensuring, at least theoretically, the safety of the people from financial oppression. Dr. Jha also quotes instances of excessive taxation.

The fourth chapter covers land revenue. The author points out that the villagers were not assessed collectively, but with reference to individual holdings (p. 37), and assessment was probably based on the area and quality of land (p. 39).

In the fifth chapter, the levy of provisions and the states' right to forced labour (*viṣṭi*) has been discussed in detail. Chapter VI deals with various commercial taxes. After dwelling at length on *śulka* (pp. 70 ff.), the author comes to the conclusion that it was a tax on commodities realised from traders and merchants and that it may have included taxes on both foreign and indigenous articles (p. 76).

Chapter VII deals with some extraordinary sources of royal income such as different types of fines, heirless property, *nidhi*, *upanidhi*, gambling, levies on some religious or domestic rites and irregular taxes. The author seems to be right in questioning Ghosal's interpretetion of the term *coravarjam* as related to a tax for the maintenance of the village police. The suggestion that it meant exclusion of the donee of a gift village from trying thieves and robbers (p. 89) appears more acceptable. He reject's Ghosal's view that *sa-daś-āparādha* indicates the beneficiary's right to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some offences and offers an explanation which is in tune with Fleet's (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 189n, 218). It meant the donee's right to the proceeds from fines for ten offences

(p. 91). Thus judicial fines were one of the sources of state income. [For various meanings of the expressions, see Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s. v.]

Chapter VIII gives an account of the emergency revenue, and Chapter IX treats subjects like crown land, forests, mines, etc. The author says that there is no direct reference to crown land during this period, though the *ārdhikas* or share-croppers probably cultivated the king's land (p. 114). He thinks that royal monopoly over elephants and horses was considerably undermined during the Gupta period (p. 118).

In Chapter X on fiscal exemptions granted in favour of individuals and institutions, the author discusses the evidence of the Śātavāhana and Pallava inscriptions to show that fiscal immunities in land grants to Brāhmaṇas first began in South India and then spread to Central and Northern India (p.130). This is unwarranted since Kauṭilya prescribes that the king should make grants of *brahmadeya* land, exempted from taxes and fines, to the sacrificial priest, the spiritual preceptor, the priest and those learned in the Vedas (*AS'*, II. 1).

Chapter XI attempts to find out units of fiscal administration and to establish the relation among them. But in an age when administrative offices were vaguely defined and the duties of the revenue officers were often coupled with civil and military services, it is not expected that there would be no overlapping or confusion between fiscal and territorial units.

A long list of revenue officers has been given in Chapter XII. The author rightly observes that it is not possible to state precisely the duties and function of many of them. According to the author, the officials in the Gupta period were paid in kind (p. 201). He then refers to the word *bhukti* meaning something intended for enjoyment and says that the territorial unit *bhukti* was meant for the enjoyment of the *Uparika* under whose charge it was placed. But we have evidence to shew that in the *bhuktis* there were often viceroys of the royal blood commanding over all the provincial officials including the *Uparikas*. It also cannot be a general rule to pay all government servants in kind particularly in a period when the state took a great initiative in minting coins. [For expansion of the meaning of *bhukti*, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, s. v.—Ed.]

A stock taking has been made in the last chapter.

On the whole, the author's treatment of his subject is thorough and scholarly. His clarity of thought and power of reasoning coupled with an understanding of the source materials make his work all the more valuable. Of course all his suggestions and observations will not meet with ready acceptance. For instance, *hiraṇya* is not a tax levied on commercial crops (p. 50). It was apparently a tax in cash collected in lieu of the grain-share (*JAS*, Letters,

Vol. XX, pp. 209ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 315 ff.). Again, contrary to the author's contention (p. 46), *bali* of the Dharmaśāstras and other literary works is not always identical with *bhāga* of the inscriptions. The Junagadh rock inscription of Rudradāman makes a distinction between them. *Ditya* does not stand for all taxes except forced labour (p. 57), but is the same as Prakrit *dijja* and Sanskrit *deya*, 'to be given', 'an object that has been given away' in the sense of 'customary presents' and appears to have been the same as *datti* meaning the obligations of the villagers to make occasional presents to the landlords. [See Sircar, *op. cit.*, s. v.—Ed.] His criticism of Ghoshal's interpretation of the term *vātabhūtapratyāya* in the sense of 'revenue derived from winds and elements' on the ground that "it is difficult to imagine what such a mysterious income might have been" (p. 77) is unfair. On the other hand, his acceptance of Altekar's explanation that it meant excise and customs duties cannot be justified. It really meant income brought about by elemental changes, e. g. storms, earthquakes, changes in the course of a river, etc. [See Sircar, *op. cit.*, s. v.—Ed.]

In the author's opinion, the king could alienate land from the private landholders and introduce new owners, thus superseding the right of the individual landholder (p. 17). But examples drawn by him are not clear enough to suggest that the king forced the previous holder to surrender it to the state for its transfer to another person. Indeed, such transfers involved sale and purchase obviously with the consent of both the parties. Infringement of individual ownership was possible only when the king cared little for established customs and conventions.

S. R. Das

LIII

INDIA AND ETHIOPIA FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY B. C. by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, The Asiatic Society Monograph Series, Vol. XV, published by Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1968 ; Royal 8vo 80 pp. with 26 monochrome plates ; price Rs. 25.00.

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji belongs to that fast disappearing generation of world scholars who besides being vastly learned specialists in their respective fields of study and investigation, are also great humanists, in the sense that they are interested in the achievements of man irrespective of race, nationality, time and space. They are humanists also in the sense that they can and do choose to co-relate the facts and findings of their own discipline with those of other allied or related disciplines, with a view to enlarge the vision of man and his world. The doyen of the modern disciplines of phonetics and philology and of historical linguistics in modern Indian Universities, Prof. Chatterji's scholastic and intellectual equipment for this purpose is unparalleled in the history of modern Indian scholarship ; he has

shown how to co-relate the facts and findings of phonetics, philology and linguistics with those of archaeology and history, art and architecture, iconography and religion, social institutions and behavioural pattern. His interests are as wide and deep as his zest for life and for human contacts all over the world of man.

The present monograph of Prof. Chatterji is in a line with at least three of his earlier published monographs, namely, *Kirātajanakṛti*, belonging to the same Asiatic Society Monographs series and giving an account of the history and culture of the Tibeto-Burman peoples of India, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Burma ; *India and Africa* giving a historical and cultural account of Indo-African contacts through the centuries ; and the *Balts and Aryans* in which he gives an illuminating account of the impact of Indo-Aryan and Indo-Germanic languages and cultures on the languages and cultures of the Baltic peoples. His interests are so wide and catholic that, in all these three monographs, he roams not only along the arrow line of time from early pre-Christian centuries to that of our own, but also horizontally in space from India, South-East Asia, Tibet and China to the ends of Europe and Africa.

He has done the same, which means that his method and approach have been the same in the context of relations between India and Ethiopia or what is also called Abyssinia. Africa or any portion thereof or what was until recently the dark continent, literally and figuratively, to most knowledgeable scholars, explorers and publicists even, has thus been drawn, for the first time by Prof. Chatterji, into the arena of Indian historical and cultural scholarship embracing millenniums of the past. It is amazing how he draws into the horizon of his vision king Solomon and the Queen of Sheba of pre-Christian times, Malik Andil of Bengal (c. 1490), Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar (c. 1615) and Alexander Pushkin's (1799-1837) great-grandfather Ibrahim or Abraham, the favourite page-boy of Peter the Great of Russia, in one sweep, and this, not as a facile journalist would do, but as a responsible scholar and academician who looks at the history of human civilization as a whole and yet along the corridors of time.

The present reviewer does not have the scholarship, experience and erudition to comment critically and creatively on the account of Indo-Ethiopian relations for about three millenniums as presented by Prof. Chatterji. But it is necessary to give an idea of the contents of the monograph.

Prof. Chatterji introduces his subject with a chapter on the historical, racial, linguistic and cultural background of Ethiopia in the context of Egypt. He postulates that the Hamito-Cushitic, South Arabian Semitic and Sudanian Negro peoples provided the racial and linguistic bases of both Egypt and Ethiopia.

In the next two chapters (Chaps. II and III) an account is given of the so-called 'Ethiopian' dynasty of Egypt and Nubia (751–663 B.C.) in course of which are discussed in general the affairs in the Near Eastern region during the first half of the first millennium B. C. This is followed by a general account of early connections between India, Egypt and Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

Chapter IV is entirely given to the identification, on philological grounds, of the Nubian-Ethiopian Pharaoh of Egypt, Taharqa, with king Tārkṣya Vaipaścita mentioned in the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*. This has been done in the context of Indo-Egyptian contacts in the seventh century B.C. Whether one would accept this identification or not would certainly depend very largely on the discovery of further historical and archaeological data ; but Prof. Chatterji has shown that there is nothing antecedently improbable in such an identification.

The next three chapters (Chaps. V–VII) are devoted to an account of Indo-Abyssynian relations during the early centuries of the Christian era. In this account Prof. Chatterji's most important contribution has been not so much the account itself, nor even the brilliant sketch of the career of Ezana (c. 330 A. D.), the first Christian king of Ethiopia, whom he has significantly compared with Aśoka and Constantine, but the account of Ezana's contribution to the evolution of the Ethiopian script, and Prof. Chatterji's hypothesis regarding the contribution of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts towards that evolution. He thinks that this contribution must have been made by Indian traders trading with Ethiopia, and brings to bear upon his hypothesis the evidence of a seal with Brāhmī letters recovered from excavations in the Adulis area of Ethiopia, of a fragmentary potsherd with six lines of Brāhmī writing found in the Roman ruins at the Egyptian port of Gossen on the Red Sea, and of a hoard of Kuṣāna coins with Kharoṣṭhī legends, recovered from Debra Damo in Northern Ethiopia in 1940. Prof. Chatterji points out that the Ethiopian script has not only adopted the Indian principle, but also the actual signs and their order.

Irrespective of whether one accepts or not Prof. Chatterji's identification of Taharqa with Tārkṣya Vaipaścita, he has made out a case for the acceptance of the hypothesis of Indo-Ethiopian relations during the first millennium B. C. and the first few centuries of the Christian era. One may assume in this connection that the later Harappans of Western India had some sort of relations with Egypt and Eastern Africa. Direct evidence is non- existent ; but a terracotta representation of a gorilla and of a mummy recovered from the ruins of Lothal are pointers in that direction, besides the facts and arguments Prof. Chatterji himself has offered.

In the last three chapters of the monograph (Chaps. VIII–X), Prof.

Chatterji gives us the history of Indo-Ethiopian relations in subsequent centuries, bringing it down to our own times. From the Indian point of view, the most important of these three is Chapter IX in course of which he gives an interesting *resume´* of all that is known in India uptodate about the Abyssinians or Ethiopians including the Gallas, the Somalis and the Negroes collectively called the Habshi, from after 1200 A.D.

There are two interesting appendices to the book. In the first, Prof. Chatterji tells us the story of Maqeda, the queen of Sheba, and the wise king Solomon, which is the national legend of Ethiopia, and discusses its place in modern Ethiopian folk art and alsodoes someprobing into a possible connection between Indian and Ethiopian art. In the second, he provides a number of specimens of literary or culture languages used in Ethiopia from after the establishment of Christianity.

The monograph is provided with twenty-six monochrome plates, but no index nor any bibliography.

Since Independence, India has been building up her own network of international relations, in her own national interests as well as in that of peace and mutual good-will on which her national interests depend to a very great extent. One of the obligations of such relations is to know more and more of the history and culture, art and religion, social and political institutions, traditions and behaviour pattern, etc., of the peoples of the lands with which we have or want to have close collaboration, particularly with those who like ourselves were for long under a system of colonial exploitation and have in the recent past achieved independence. Africa and her constituents are in this context as important to India as the peoples and countries of West and South-East Asia, and the more we know and understand our historical and cultural relations with them, the better for us. Prof. Chatterji's monograph is an important contribution towards that knowledge and understanding.

SM. AMITA RAY

LIV

BALTS AND ARYANS by Suniti Kumar Chatterji; published by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; pp. xx + 178 with 18 plates; price Rs. 20.00.

The Baltic branch of the Indo-European family consists of the Lithuanian, Latvian and the now-extinct Old Prussian languages. Lithuanian has preserved until the present day the phonetic system of the Indo-European parent-speech with such fidelity as to play a very important role in the study of the past history of the other Indo-European languages. Latvian or Lettish is closely related to Lithuanian, their phonetic system being the

same, except that the Latvian has undergone some changes (for the abundance of loan-words from German, Russian and Livonian) in which Lithuanian has had little share. The literary history of both the languages dates from the Reformation. Up to 1700, books printed in both the languages were mainly liturgical in character (cf. the *Catechism* of M. Mazvydas and the religious writings of Bretkunas and Fuereccerus). During the eighteenth century, when a vigorous educational movement took place, dictionaries, grammars and other instructive works were composed, and written poems began to take the place of songs preserved by oral tradition. The most significant work of the period in Lithuanian was the poem of Kristijonas Donelaitis. When the revival of national feeling at the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in the establishment of newspapers and the collection and publication of the national folk poetry, both the languages stepped into the modern age.

Christianity came into the Baltic world through the Germans and the Poles. As a religion of foreigners, it had very little appeal to the common people who liked to cling to the older traditions. This pre-Christian tradition was the basis of their folklore, known both in Lithuanian and Latvian as *daina*, an old Balt word having a very interesting relationship with the Sanskrit *dhī* or *dhyā* ; cf. *dhenā* in the *Ṛgveda* in the sense of speech. In the beginning of the present century (1900-15), K. Barons published 35,789 Baltic folk-songs and 182,000 variants. P. Smits increased their number to 60,000 songs with some 100,000 variants. In the mid-1960s there were about 900,000 unpublished basic songs and variants recorded in the Institute of Latvian Folklore at Riga. For the pagan foundation of the *dainas*, Lithuanian and Latvian folklore still preserves an ancient mythology, with a number of names af pagan gods and other mythological images, comparable to pre-Olympian Greek, Roman, Vedic Indian, Persian and old Scandinavian.

Herein lies the special interest of Prof. Chatterji who, as is well known, has always made the study of paganism a corollary to his linguistic researches. In fact, he is the only Indian writer to introduce us to the pre-Christian legends, along with their Indian parallels, tracing them all to their roots. The book under review is a welcome addition to our knowledge regarding the Baltic speakers and their culture. The present study is intended, as the author himself says in the introduction, "to be scientific as well as popular, and aims particularly at bringing some knowledge of the Baltic world to English-reading people in general and to Indians in particular, who have some background of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European philology and culture ; and also at presenting some aspects of the Aryan world in India to Baltic persons." So he begins with a study of the composite racial character of the people and culture of India. To understand properly the connexion

between the Aryans of India and the Balts, it would be necessary, according to the learned author, to go through the prehistory and early history of the original people among whom the Primitive Indo-European language took shape and who were the linguistic and cultural forbears of the Indo-European-speaking peoples of the present day. In view of this, he deals with the background of Indo-European life and culture stressing on the great dialectical divide among the primitive Indo-Europeans.

From the sixth chapter, really speaking, we read the hitherto unknown world of the Balts, of whom Prof. Chatterji gives a first hand account in terms of other Indo-European peoples. Here we have a comparative estimate of primitive life and faith as reflected in ancient traditions and hero-legends of different European languages. Having taken us into the worlds of the Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic myth and legend, Prof. Chatterji tries to show that one common Indo-Europeanism lay at the root of all conceptions, and the culture of the Balts was no exception in this respect. Again, this Indo-Europeanism, according to the author, was the very basis on which the Balts struggled throughout centuries against their unkind destiny. In the chapter entitled 'The Balt Character', the history of the struggle of the Balts against hostile races is described along with the hero-legends dealing with their patriotism and sacrifice, with special reference to the martyrs and heroes like Talvaldis, Virsaitis, Mindangas, Traidenis, Vytenis, Gediminas and Vytautas.

Next the author comes to the records of the ancient Balt culture world introducing us to the *dainas*. As we have seen above, the *dainas* are great in number and in spirit and are essentially native and popular. One interesting thing which Prof. Chatterji has pointed out is that even today *dainas* are being composed glorifying the ideals of work and the dignity of the labouring man. The reason is that the ancient *dainas* deal with an unsophisticated and undifferentiated life which is also the aim of the modern Lithuanians and Latvians. In the tenth chapter we have a philological treatment of the Baltic *daina* and the Indo-Aryan *dhenā* as found in the Vedas and also of the *dainas* themselves in their primitive Indo-European atmosphere. Chapter XI deals with the beauty and power of the *dainas* as poetry in which Prof. Chatterji gives the testimony of competent scholars and a special appendix to the said chapter gives very interesting Sanskrit parallels. Chapter XII deals with Baltic life and culture *vis-a-vis* that of the Vedic Aryans, while Chapter XIII is a comparative treatment of the pre-Christian Baltic religion. Chapter XIV deals with Baltic history—medieval and modern—and also with the recent cultural advance in arts and letters. Chapter XV is a comparative study of the Baltic speech and Sanskrit, strictly on philological basis, and in the last chapter the author gives specimens of Lithuanian and Latvian poetical frag-

ments with their translations in English. Interesting in all its aspects, the book is undoubtedly a great achievement.

The book has no index.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

LV

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE KANNADA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Vols. V–VIII, edited by Dr. P. B. Desai, published by Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1964–1968; price Rs. 3.00 each.

The earliest extant literary productions of the Kannaḍa language, viz. the *Voddha-ārādhana* of Śivakoṭy-ācārya and the *Kavirājamārga* of Nṛpatuṅga (about 850 A.D.), appears to have been preceded by some centuries of literary activity, since Kannaḍa, as a distinct literary entity, must have taken shape at least from the time of the earliest inscriptions in that language, e.g. the Chikmagalur inscription of the fifth century and the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription probably belonging to an earlier period still. [The dates of the inscriptions appear to be problematical.—Ed.] However, it was from the tenth century, with the advent of Guṇavarma I (the author of the *Śūdraka* and *Neminātha Purāṇa*, also called *Harivaṁśa*) and the three 'gems'—Pampa (the author of the *Ādi Purāṇa* and *Vikramārjunavijaya*, also called, more popularly, *Pampa Bhārata*), Ponna (author of the *Śānti Purāṇa*) and Ranna (author of the *Ajita Purāṇa*, *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* and *Sāhasabhīma*, also called *Gadāyuddha*)—that Kannaḍa literature reached its adolescent stage, and it was in this century that Nāgavarma I wrote the first Kannaḍa treatise on prosody, entitled *Chandombudhi*. Most of the early Kannaḍa writers were preoccupied with Jain tenets, traditions and interpretations, and hence the first stage of Kannaḍa literature is rightly called the Jain period. In subsequent ages, Liṅgāyat Śaivism replaced Jainism as the most important religious influence upon Kannaḍa literature. The Liṅgāyats or Vīraśaivas owed their inspiration to Basava who lived in the mid-12th century and revived the Vīraśaiva cult. The most popular works of the Liṅgāyats were the *Vacanakāvyas*, Śaiva devotional poems, written in rhythmic prose. Vīraśaivism was later extended to the southern part of the Kannaḍa area where it was patronised by the Hoysala kings who had originally been Jains, but were later converted to Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Rāmānuja. Much of the Kannaḍa Vaiṣṇava literature was adopted from Sanskrit originals. The Vaiṣṇava *Dāsaru* or mendicant singers, who wandered from village to village popularising Kṛṣṇa-worship, composed a very large number of songs which are regarded as the treasures of Kannaḍa literature

Many of the ancient works in Kannaḍa language are still in manuscript

form and many are yet to be discovered. This work is being carried on by the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, and under the able guidance of Dr. P. B. Desai, the Institute has published several volumes of descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in its possession. It has long since been engaged in the collection and publication of material pertaining to the history and literature of Karnatak. Its manuscript library contains over 2,500 works, and among the catalogues it has published during the last ten years, four volumes comprise details of about 224 manuscripts, the fifth containing descriptive details of about 80 manuscripts of 38 authors. These works mainly pertain to the Vīraśaiva and Jain faiths. There are also a few on grammar and lexicography which are in Sanskrit with commentary in Kannaḍa. The sixth volume contains descriptive notes on 85 manuscripts of 57 authors. The presentation of the subject matter in this volume follows the same pattern as in the previous volumes. The majority of the works presented here relate to Vīraśaiva religion and philosophy. Some, of course, deal with Jainism while a few are related to the Vaiṣṇava doctrine. There are some more works on scientific and literary subjects like prosody, and on folk-plays and popular stories. In both the volumes, for the benefit of scholars not conversant with Kannaḍa, a brief note on the nature and contents of the manuscripts is given in English at the end of each item.

The seventh and eighth volumes are prepared in the same method of presenting the matter of each manuscript as in the previous volumes. Vol. VII contains notes on eightythree manuscripts, a large number of which deal with the Vīraśaiva religion and philosophy. These works are especially concerned with the Vīraśaiva conceptions of *Guru*, *Liṅga*, *Jaṅgama*, *Aṣṭavarana*, *Saṭsthala* and the like. A few of the manuscripts deal with Jain philosophy and two with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The eighth volume contains notes on seventyeight manuscripts, most of which also deal with the Vīraśaiva religion and philosophy, and a few with the Jain and the Vaiṣṇava religion and literature as well. Two of the manuscripts with the same contents present a list of verbal roots in the Kannaḍa language. There are three manuscripts dealing with medicine.

We are thankful to Dr. Desai for presenting these very useful volumes to the world of scholars and the students interested in Kannaḍa language and literature.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

LVI

BUDDHIST ETHICS by H. Saddhatissa, published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1970 ; pages 202 (including index) ; price £ 2.75.

The object of the work under review is the study of ethical principles as

depicted in Buddhist literature. Buddhism, although it is referred to as a religion, is basically a way of life, since the Buddha spoke of the two extremes—devotion to sensual pleasures and self-mortification—to be avoided in order to have knowledge of the way to enlightenment, and it would therefore be more accurate to describe Buddhism as an 'ethico-philosophy' to be practised by each follower, as the learned author holds. The book is an attempt to help Western readers to follow the Buddhist way of life. Dr. H. Saddhatissa, who is a renowned Buddhist scholar, is well qualified to write on this subject. He has collected all the material on the theme scattered in the early Buddhist texts.

In the opening chapter, the author examines the background of Buddhism and its unique doctrines, and then comes to the origin and source of Buddhist knowledge of the highest stage, dealing with the life and enlightenment of the Buddha, the laws of dependent origination, the Buddhist ideas relating to the self and the soul, the three characteristics of existence, etc., with special reference to the great compassion of the Buddha which, according to the author, is inseparable from the highest stage of Buddhist knowledge. Next he deals with the nature of the threefold refuge—the unique trinity consisting of the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha*—and a brief analysis of the written scriptures in their present form. Specially he refers to the concepts of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*, and also the eightfold way, and, in view of all these, he discloses the fundamentals of Buddhist moral conduct, the *sīlas* in their fivefold, eightfold and tenfold aspects. Then the author proceeds on to describe the underlying ideals of moralities, especially for those who are laymen. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters are really important because here, for the first time, we have a complete and comprehensive account of the position of the laity in early Buddhism, the layman's duties to his associates and finally his relation with the state. In the last chapter the author deals with the ultimate goal, *Nibbāna*.

This valuable work serves the author's purpose; but he does not clarify the social basis of Buddhist ethics. What is the background of the Buddha's sayings concerning human misery? "I behold the rich in this world," says the Buddha, "of the goods which they have acquired, in their folly they give nothing to others; they eagerly heap riches together, and farther and still farther they go in pursuit of enjoyment.…the princes, who rule kingdoms, rich in treasures and wealth, turn their greed against one another, pandering insatiably to the desires. If these act thus restlessly, swimming in the stream of impermanence, carried along, who then can walk on earth in peace?" (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 64). At a critical stage of Indian history, when growing imperialism was exterminating the free tribes, the Buddha modelled his *Saṅgha* on the principles of tribal equality. Not only did he successfully build

up his *Sangha* on the model of pre-class society, but he took great care to see that the members thereof lived a perfectly detached life, unaffected by the great historic transformation going on in the society at large. The rules of right conduct, prescribed by the Buddha, were simply the moral values of tribal society which were undermined in the age of the Buddha. [The extirpation of tribal republics by imperialistic forces does not appear to be an important factor of Indian history of the Buddha's age (c.564–486 B. C.). Many tribal republics continued to flourish till the fourth century A. D.—Ed.] The book contains a number of printing mistakes. [See, e.g., p. 9, line 11—'present of future' for 'present or future'; line 14 –'indispensible' for 'indispensable', p. 27, note 6—*praitiṣṭhā*, apparently for *pratiṣṭhā*, etc.—Ed.]

N. N. Bhattacharya

LVII

SABHYATĀ O DHARMER KRAMAVIKĀŚ (in Bengali) by Durgākiṅkar, published by Sm. U. Mitra, Calcutta, 1377 B.S., pp. 368; price Rs. 12.00.

The book under review is the first part of Volume I of an ambitious scheme to be completed in three volumes. In this part, the author has tried to evaluate the contribution of Harappan culture in the evolution of the civilization and religious life of India.

The work is divided into three chapters which are introduced by a preface. Chapter I deals with the religious systems of the so-called Aryanised countries. Chapter II takes up different aspects of the Indus Valley civilization and its effects on the contemporary civilizations of the world. In the third chapter, the author discusses the script and language of the ancient Indus people and the contribution they have made in the evolution of culture and religion.

The author of the work under review is one among those who think that India was the birth place of human civilization which spread from here to other countries. Many, however, would differ from him when he says that the Sumerian civilization is nothing but an extension of the Indus civilization, that Egypt was a colony of India, that the Hyksos are no other that the Yakṣas of Indian literature, that the Kassites are identical with the Keśins of the *Ṛgveda*, and the like. The author is of the opinion that the Śiva-liṅga was originally conceived as a pillar (*stambha*), and that it is connected with ancestor worship. This goes against the commonly accepted view that Liṅga-worship is connected with the fertility cult. It has sometimes been suggested that the Brāhmī script had its origin in the undeciphered Indus script; but it is difficult to agree with the author of the present work who thinks that the latter was also the mother of the Sumerian, Elamite, Cretan and Hittite

writings. There is also no ground to suppose that the Brāhmī script originated in 2000 B.C. and that it was popularised about 800 B.C. We do not agree with many of the author's basic hopotheses, and most of his arguments and theories appear to us unconvincing.

There are some printing mistakes in the book.

CHITRAREKHA GUPTA

LVIII

STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE by Udai Narain Roy, published by Lokbharti Publications, Allahabad, 1969; pages 266 with 8 plates.

This is a collection of ten of the author's papers: I. Some Observations on the Posthumous Character of the Mehrauli Pillar Inscription; II. Was there really a Fratricidal War after the Death of Kumāragupta I ? III. Some Literary and Epigraphic Notes; IV. Survivals of Kauṭilya Tradition in Ancient Indian Architecture; V. Pāṭaliputra in Ancient India; VI. Ujjayinī through the Ages; VII. King Bhoja on City-Architecture; VIII. Some Aspects of Civic Administration in Ancient India; IX. Prayāga in Legend and History; and X. The Sindhu Episode of the *Mālavikāgnimitram.*

A glance through the titles of the papers would show that the author has wide interest. He has written on political history and geography as well as on architecture and civic administration. The first paper on the Mehrauli pillar Inscription contains no new suggestions and some of the arguments advanced by the author were previously offered by scholars including Raychaudhuri and Sircar. In the second paper the author comments on R. C. Majumdar's theory that there was a fratricidal war for the throne of Kumāragupta I and comes to Raychaudhuri's conclusion that there was no such struggle. [We essentially agree with Majumdar.—Ed.] It seems to us that the discussion is unnecessarily lengthy and many of the quotations from literary works could have been avoided. The name Pūrugupta has been misspelt throughout; 'Raychaudhuri' has generally become 'Raychaudhari' and 'Lakṣmī' sometimes 'Laqshmī'.

In the third paper, there are two good notes on Kumāragupta of the Madasor stone inscription and Rudradeva of the Allahabad pillar inscription. [Chapter III includes the following notes: 1. The Identification of Kumāragupta of Mandasor Inscription; 2. Were there really three Kumāraguptas ? 3. A Note on the 13th Verse of the Haraha Inscription; 4. Dhārā of the Jaunpur Stone Inscription; 5. Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar inscription; and 6. The 'Sālamekhalā' of Ayodhyā and the Timber Palisade of Pāṭaliputra. Amongst these, No. 1 seeks to prove that the said Kumāragupta is Kumāragupta I, which is the generally accepted view. For the conclusions

in Nos. 3–4, attention may be drawn to *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLII, 1964, pp. 127ff. The strongest argument against the identification of the Āryāvarta king Rudradeva of the Allahabad pillar inscription with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I is, as pointed out by some writers, that the latter apparently had his capital in Vidarbha in Dakṣiṇāpatha.—Ed.]

Chapters 4 and 7, which are on architecture, are better than the author's papers on political history. He has successfully shown the indebtedness of the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. In this connection, he has also taken note of the evidences of such works as the two epics, the *Mayamatam* and the *Aparājitapṛcchā*. The evidence of the Pali Jātakas and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* on city architecture could have been utilised.

Chapter VIII is the best in the book. The author has carefully used the evidences of both inscriptions and literary texts. But he should have ignored the testimony of the *S'ukranīti* which is considered by many to be a late mediaeval forgery. In our vast literature there are many references to civic administration, and it is not difficult to write a thesis on this topic. That the ancient Indians had good civic sense would be evident from the following words of the *Viṣṇusmṛti* (V. 105–06)—*pathy-udyān-odaka-samīpe='śucikārī paṇa-śatam / tac=c=āpāsyāt //*

In the paper on Pāṭaliputra, it is unfortunate that the author has not taken into account the evidence of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (3rd *taraṅga*) regarding the origin of the city. The author has quoted (see p. 176 and note) the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa verses on Prayāga, but does not notice that the place is clearly called *tīrtha* in the Uttara-kāṇḍa (111.13).

In the last paper of the book, the author tries to prove that Kālidāsa's account of Vasumitra's fight with the Yavanas on the bank of the Indus is unhistorical. Whether this view is accepted or not, some of his arguments are unsatisfactory. He says that queen Dhāriṇī addresses her son as *puttao* (i. e. *putraka*), and observes that the use of the suffix *ka* denotes young age so that Vasumitra was a boy below fifteen at the time and not quite capable of fighting with the Yavanas. This is not acceptable since, in the *Mahābhārata* (XV. 16.12), Kuntī addresses Yudhiṣṭhira, who must have been a man of advanced years at that time, as *putraka*. As a matter of fact, a son, however old, remains a child to his mother. [When a young prince was made Commander-in-chief, he had veteran generals nominally under him, for conducting warfare.—Ed.] It is somewhat surprising that the author who is inclined to assign Kālidāsa to the 1st century B.C. (p. 109) when the memory of Puṣyamitra (c. 185-149 B.C.) could hardly have been completely obliterated, ignores the poet's evidence.

There are many errors of transliteration ; e.g., *Digvijai*, *Anshumāna*, *Abhi-*

gyāna, *Yagñasena*, etc. *Akṣaya* (pp. 197ff.), Hṛida (p. 213), Lankā (p. 86), etc., found throughout the book, may be misprints.

[There are a few cases of quotations without adequate reference ; e. g., at p. 221.—Ed.]

A. K. CHATTERJEE

LIX

NANĀ ON LION—A STUDY IN KUṢĀṆA NUMISMATIC ART by B. N. Mukherjee, published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969 ; pages 123 (excluding description of illustrations, pp. 109–23, bibliography, pp. 129–42, and index, pp. 145–59), with 56 illustrations in 15 plates ; price Rs. 35.00.

The monograph under review is an exhaustive treatment of the reverse device of a coin issued by a 3rd-century Kaniṣka. The coin which was published by M. F. C. Martin (*Num. Suppl.*, No. XLIV, pp. 8-9), was traced by the author of the monograph in the late Sri Narendra Singh Singhi's collection in Calcutta. It depicts a goddess seated, facing, to front, on a lion to left and holding sceptre and cornucopia in the left hand and noose (fillet according to Dr. Mukherjee) in the right. The reading of the legend in modified Greek script is *Non...* according to Martin and *Nona Sao* for *Nana Shao* according to Mukherjee, though the intended reading seems to us to be *Nonaia*. The 'ancient Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess Nanā' is identified with the 'Akkadian-Assyrian deity Ishtar' and the 'Persian goddess Anāhita'. The fact can hardly be ignored, however, that the name of the goddess (Nanā) is used in the *Ṛgveda* (IX. 112.3) in the sense of 'mother', so that it was easy to take her to be the same as the Indian Mother-goddess.

The author discusses the subject in five chapters, the first and last of which are 'Introduction' (pp. 3-5 with notes, p.6) and 'Epilogue' (pp. 57-58 with notes, p. 59). The remaining chapters are—II. Devices (pp. 9-20, notes, pp. 21-30), III. Style and Technique (pp. 33-40 with notes, pp. 41-44), and IV. Rulers, Artists and Environment (pp. 47-50 with notes, pp. 51-53). There are also six appendices—I. Prototype of an Obverse Device of Kuṣāṇa Coinage (pp. 65-67 with notes, p. 68), II. The Deity of Puṣkalāvatī (pp. 71–74 with notes, pp. 75-76), III. Interest of the Kuṣāṇa Empire in Indo-Roman Trade (pp. 79-82 with notes. pp. 83-85), IV. Deity on a Silver Bowl in the Oxus Treasure (pp. 89-90 with notes, pp. 91-92), V. Intaglio Seal from Peshawar (pp. 95-96 with notes, p. 97), and VI. Hermaphrodite Figure on a Silver Plate (pp. 101-04 with notes, pp. 105-06). The subject of the monograph is not big ; but bigness and importance have been imparted to it by the learned author's treatment, its heavy documentation being indicated by the fact that there are 30 pages of notes for 48 pages of text. The author has tried to

show how the foreign goddess in question contributed to the development of the concept of the Devī.

The printing and getup of the work under review are quite satisfactory. There are very few misprints, as in (*U*) *Shabhe* for [*u*] *shabhe*, i.e. *uṣabhe*, at p. 71.

There are a few points on which we are inclined to disagree with the author. Thus what has been read as Brāhmī *va* (pp. 10, 109), to the proper left of the goddess, is either the initial Brāhmī vowel *e* or the Greek letter *delta*.

As regards the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the Puṣkalāvatīdevatā coin, which some scholars have read as *aṁbi* and Mukherjee reads as *aṁpae*, we do not consider either of them quite satisfactory. Dr. Mukherjee connects [*Pa*]-*khalavadidevada*(or *ta*) with *aṁpae* (p. 72) and is inclined to translate the legend as 'Ambā the deity of Pakhalavadi (Puṣkalāvatī)'. This is, however, not beyond doubt since, in that case, one would expect *Pakhalavadi-devadae Aṁpae*.

The book is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics.

D. C. SIRCAR

LX

A GUIDE TO THE TEMPLE TOKENS OF INDIA by Irwin F. Brotman published by the author, Los Angeles, California, USA, 1970; pages 208, with one map and many illustrations including those of the tokens.

The book under review dealing with the Rāmataṅkā type coins or tokens is a useful addition to the numismatic literature of India. This is the only exhaustive work on the subject and the author deserves our thanks.

The author has described and illustrated 134 Rāmataṅkā type coins or tokens dividing them under the following groups—(1) Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd, (2) Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa, (3) Brahmā, (4) Hanumān, (5) Jagannātha Triad, (6) Kṛṣṇa and Kālī, (7) Lakṣmī, (8) Śiva, (9) Sikh Guru, (10) Religious Procession (with Rām-ābhiṣeka on the reverse), (11) Mosque, (12) Kalima, and (13) Miscellaneous tokens including some representing the god Subrahmaṇya (wrongly spelt throughout as *Sulnamanya*) and the goddess Mīnākṣī. There are 13 illustrations (e.g. Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd, Coronation of Rāma and Sītā, etc.) and the representation of both obverse and reverse of all the 134 coins. The printing and getup of the volume are excellent.

Almost all students of Indian numismatics have the experience of seeing some Rāmataṅkā type coins or tokens brought to them by people for exami-

nation. Because, however, they are even now manufactured in bronze or German silver at holy places and sold to pious pilgrims as coins of hoary antiquity, I did not at first take any interest in them. It is only when in 1964 I came across a medieval silver issue of the Rāmatankā type that I was specially interested in such coins or tokens and published two notes in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Vol. XXVIII, 1966, pp. 90ff.; Vol. XXIX, 1967, pp. 52ff.) and later incorporated them in my *Studies in Indian Coins*, 1968, pp. 252ff. Generally speaking, Mr. Brotman does not discuss the coins or tokens published by myself and others. Thus the three pieces which are described and illustrated at pp. 90-93 of his work, are similar to No. 7 described at pp. 257-58 of my book, although what he regards as the god Brahmā, I have taken to be Seated Lakṣmī (cf. the illustration of the goddess Lakṣmī at p. 128 of the book under review). Likewise, the reverse of his No. 2 described and illustrated at pp. 140-41 is similar to that of my No. 6 (*op.cit.*, p. 257) with this difference that the total of the numerial figures in a row is 20 in the former, but 15 in the latter. I may mention in this connection that the numerous illustrations in the book under review have helped me in correcting my reading of the obverse legend of the 'Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa: Rām-ābhiṣeka' type. Formerly I read it as *Rāma-Lachamana Jānaka java(ya)ta Hanamānaka*, 'Victorious are Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Jānakī and Hanumat' (*op. cit.*, p. 255). It is now found that the correct reading is *Rāma Lachamana Jānaka ja bala Hanamānaka* which seems to stand for

Rām Lachman Jānkī /
jai bolo Hanmānkī //

"Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Jānakī. Say, 'Victory to Hanumat'." Mr. Brotman seems to have adopted my old reading of the legend at some places (pp. 66, 68, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84) with *(ya)ta* wrongly for *java(ya)ta*, though the correct reading is given at p. 40 with a wrong translation. The reverse legend is *Rama-Sa* (for *Rāma-Sītā*) at p. 102, No. 6, and *Rāma-Sītā* at p. 104, No. 7 (not *Rama-Janaka* in both the cases), while the obverse legend of No. 9 at p. 106 is *Hama* (i. e. *Hanmān*) and not *Hanumanaka*. Likewise we find that the obverse legend of the first token of p. 144, is not *sata katara*, but *oṁ sat kartār*. On a token of the same type recently shown to me by my pupil, Sri P. K. Bhattacharya of the North Bengal University, the date 1804 is found. The year should be referred to the Vikrama Saṁvat as in certain Sikh coins (cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 398, Pl. XXII. 10), so that the year corresponds to 1748 A. D.

While expressing our thankfulness to the author for this extremely interesting and useful work, we are inclined to draw his attention to some other blemishes which he may try to remove in the next edition.

In the first place, there are mistakes besides those indicated above. Thus

the use of the word *tanka* is assigned to the 9th century B. C. (p. ix), where 'B.C.' is no doubt a mistake for 'A.D.' However, for a much earlier date, see Allan's *Cat.* (*A. I.*), p. cxxii. At p. 16, there seem to be some errors in the mention, of 'Bhaya, the giver of blessings', as a name of Sūrya and 'Kapardin' ('he of the braided hair') as that of Viṣṇu. At p. 18, it is said, due to confusion, that the Arabs 'in the early 8th century had established supermacy over northern India' and also 'From Baluchistan they advanced into Sind and the lower Punjab. The Arab colonies in the north had little political or religious influence over the rest of India.' For 'Gopinatha Roa', read 'Gopinatha Rao' at pp. 95, 206, and read 'Sircar, D. C.' after (not before) 'Sindhu' at p. 208 (Index).

There is again confusion when the author says in respect of 'South India' —"The four basic language groups in the area are Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. The (sic—Telugu, the) whole of the area being called Tamil land" (p. 17), and in another context, "In the epic Purana, the amiable Rakshasi, goddess of the house, is represented" (p. 21). The statement that Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali last respectively for 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years (p. 21) is not accurate. We have to read 'Qutb-ud-din' for 'Kuth-ud-din' (p. 19), 'maintained there whatever peace they could' for maintained their ...'(p. 19), 'martial brotherhood' for 'matial brotherhood' (p. 20), 'Kauśāmbī', 'Kushāṇa'. 'Gondophares' and 'Kadphises' respectively for 'Kausanbi', 'Kusana', 'Gondophanes' and 'Kadhises' (p. 21), 'Matsyopākhyāna' for 'Matsyopkhyana' (p. 24), 'Kaikeyī' for 'Kaikey' (p. 25), 'Lakshmaṇa' for 'Laksmana' (p. 25 *et passim*), 'Māṇḍavī' for 'Mandavya' (p. 26), 'Śrutakīrti' for 'Strutakiriti' (p. 26), 'she convinces' for 'convinces' (p. 26), etc.

We request the energetic author to remove such blemishes in order to make the book more useful to the students of Indian numismatics

D. C. SIRCAR

LXI

INDIA AS SEEN IN THE BṚHATSAṀHITĀ OF VARĀHAMIHIRA by Ajay Mitra Shastri, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1969 ; pages 503 excluding bibliography (13 pp.) and index (35 pp.), with 21 plates ; price Rs. 50.00.

The book under review has eight chapters, the first of which deals with 'Varāhamihira : his Age, Life and Works', and the others are—II. Geographical Data, III. Religion, IV. Social Life, V. Economic Life, VI. Astrology in Every-day Life, VII. Fine Arts, and VIII. Literature. There are four Appendices—I. Polity and Government, II. Jupiter's Cycles of Twelve and Sixty Years, III. Textual Evidence bearing on Rainfall in Ancient India, and IV. Dakārgala or the Art of Exploring Underground Water-veins. The chapters

on social and economic life are divided into as many as eight and seven sections respectively. The treatment is very thorough and exhibits the author's carefulness, erudition and critical acumen.

There are not many misprints. However, in a book of this type, it is easy to trace points on which the reader may not agree with the author; but they are of a minor nature and do not detract from its value. The learned author's attention is drawn to a few such points which he may consider while revising the work for another edition.

The identification of Maru and Daseraka attributed to the author of the *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (p. 75) should go to the medieval lexicographers; e.g. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* has *Maravas=tu Daśerakāḥ* (cf. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 104). As regards the *Nagaraśreṣṭhin* in the records of the Gupta age (p. 319), the designation has now been traced in that of the *Nagarseṭh* in the *Pañcāyat* system called *Cauthiyā* in late medieval Rajasthan (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 60, note 2; *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. VI, 1955, pp. 81-85; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Ahmedabad, 1954, pp. 52-55). As regards the location of the Kukura country, it may not have been far removed from the city of Dvārakā which is described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (I. 11. 10) as protected by the Kukuras, Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis. The *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* (p. 500), or any Jātaka as a matter of fact, should not be assigned to the 6th century B.C.

The book is a welcome addition to our Indological literature.

D. C. SIRCAR

LXII

THE YĀDAVAS AND THEIR TIMES by Onkar Prasad Verma, published by Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal, Nagpur, 1970; pages 366 excluding genealogy (2 pp.), list of inscriptions (16 pp.), bibliography (18 pp.) and index (18 pp.), with one map and 18 plates; price Rs. 45.00.

The book under review deals with the history of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri in eight chapters. Chapters I–IV relating to political history are—I. Origin and Habitat, II. Early History, Jaitugi I (sic—Jaitugi and Siṅghaṇa), and IV. Successors of Siṅghaṇa, while the remaining chapters dealing with cultural history are—V. Administration, VI. Social and Economic Condition, VII. Religious Condition, and VIII. Art and Architecture. We are glad to note that the author's treatment of the subject is characterised by sober judgement and critical acumen.

There are a few blemishes to which we draw the learned author's attention, so that he may remove them while revising the work for another edition. We are sorry that Yādava Rāmacandra's sons are mentioned as Śaṅkaradeva and Bhimadeva (pp. 160, 368) even though S. H. Hodivala long ago proved

in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (1939, pp. 372-73) that the correct forms of the said names are Siṅghaṇadeva and Bhillamadeva. It may be mentioned in this connection that a great injustice has been done to that sound scholar in the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *The Delhi Sultanate* (1960, pp. 48-49) wherein Hodivala's views have been appropriated without proper acknowledgement. It is unfortunate that Hodivala's work does not find a place, in Dr. Verma's bibliography.

Equally unfortunate seems to be Dr. Verma's omission of any reference to the important Devalali epigraph (*A. R. Ind. Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 3 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, April, 1967, pp. 74 ff.) of Bhillama III, dated 1052 A.D., in his discussion on the said ruler (pp. 29ff.), whose reign he wrongly assigns to 1020-45 A.D. The Devalali inscription records the grant of four villages in the kingdom of Cālukya Āhavamalla (Someśvara I, 1043-68 A.D.) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara Daṇḍanāyaka whom Paramāra Bhoja (1000-55 A.D.) appointed the governor of the fort of Eṇakai (in the Nasik District) which he made over to the Cālukya king's feudatory Bhillama III. Śrīdhara's treachery and ingratitude are all the more deplorable because his family was enjoying favours of the Paramāra kings for generations, his great-grandfather Sillaṇa having migrated from Oyāri, in Madhyadeśa, to serve under Paramāra Vairisiṁha ruling from Dhārā.

Among numerous minor errors including misprints, reference may be made to 'Derette' (pp. 85, 86 note, 143, line 7, etc.) for 'Derrett' ; 'Welseley Haig' (p. 151) for 'Wolseley Haig'; 'Vāgabhaṭa' (p. 159, note 4) for 'Vāgbhaṭa' ; 'A. K. Naraine' (sic) represented as the author in relation to 'B.G. (Bombay Gazetteer), I, ii, p. 21, fn. 1' (p.291), 'Rapson, Indian Coins, London 1908 (sic—Strassburg, 1898)' (p. 390), etc.

The book will be more useful to the students if such blemishes are removed in the future edition.

D. C. SIRCAR

LXIII

AN AGRIPPAN SOURCE—A STUDY OF INDO-PARTHIAN HISTORY by B. N. Mukherjee, published by Pilgrim Publishers, Calcutta, 1969 ; pages 341 with a map and three plates ; price Rs. 35.00.

Dr. B. N. Mukherjee has established his reputation as a keen student of the history of the Uttarāpatha division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārī-dvīpa when the said area was under the domination of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas. We have had occasion to review a few of his works in the pages of this journal and elsewhere. As in the other cases, a small subject has assumed a sizable form in the work under

review due to the author's scholarly and comprehensive treatment and heavy documentation.

There are altogether six chapters and five appendices covering pages 1–263, the remaining 78 pages containing list of abbreviations, select bibliography, index, corrigenda and description of plates. Besides the Introduction (Chapter I, pp. 1–6 ; notes pp. 6-12) and conclusion (Chapter VI, pp. 157-60 ; notes pp. 161–63), the titles of the other chapters are as follows : II. The Evidence of Agrippa (pp. 13-22 ; notes pp. 22–26) ; III. Other Sources—I (pp. 27-32 ; notes pp. 33-40) ; IV. Other Sources—II (pp. 41–52 ; notes pp. 52–60) ; V. The Arsacids in the Indian Borderlands (pp. 61–108 ; notes pp. 108–56). The titles of the Appendices are the following : I. The Group of Azes I and North-Western India (pp. 167–75 ; notes pp. 176-82) ; II. The Date of Gondophares I (pp. 183-90 ; notes pp. 190-98) ; III. Maues and the Arsacids (pp. 199-205 ; notes pp. 205–10) ; IV. The Date of the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* (pp. 211–12 ; notes pp. 213–15) ; V. Arsacids, Indo-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas (pp. 216-26 ; notes pp. 227–54) ; and Supplementary Notes, pp. 257–63.

The author's treatment is generally sober ; but due to the dearth of detailed information on many points, the history of the Scytho-Parthians of India is full of controversial issues, and it is therefore difficult to reach finality on several of the problems discussed in the work under review. As an illustration, let us take up one such case which is of some importance. Of the Imperial Śakas, Dr. Mukherjee seems to place Maues almost immediately before the Azes group (assigned to 58–21 A.D.) and regards Azes I to have been the founder of the Śaka era (pp. 175, 189). At the same time, he thinks that "at least up to the end of the rule of the group of Azes I, the lower Indus region roughly corresponding to the British province of Sind and South Bahawalpur, was not annexed to the territory of the known Scytho-Parthian chiefs" (p. 21).

This is quite unconvincing in our opinion. In the first place, the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the first century A. D. and the Greek geographer Ptolemy in the following century mention the lower valley of the Indus respectively as Scythia (land of the Scythians or Śakas) and Indo-Scythia (Śaka land in India), and this suggests that the said territory had been occupied by the Śakas before the latter half of the first century A. D. Secondly, the author of the *Periplus* says that, in his time, Minnagara, capital of Scythia, was under the occupation of Parthian princes who were driving each other out. This seems to suggest an earlier date for the Scythian or Śaka occupation of Minnagara (capital of the land called Scythia). Thirdly, the geographical name Śakasthāna, i.e. Scythia or Indo-Scythia, is mentioned in one of the Mathura lion-capital inscriptions assigned to the beginning of

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the first century A. D. so that the Scythian occupation of the Lower Indus valley which led to the application of the name Śakasthāna or Scythia (Indo-Scythia) to it may be ascribed to the latter part of the first century B. C. Fourthly, the name Scythia, Indo-Scythia or Śakasthāna applied to the Lower Indus Valley was obviously coined after Sakastān (modern Seistān in East Iran), a name known to Isidore of Charax who wrote about the close of the first century B.C. The probability is that it was the Śakas of the Iranian Sakastān who settled in the Lower Indus Valley and gave the name of their old homeland to their new territory as in the case of the names Pāṭaliputra (near Patna) and Śrāvastī (on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts, U. P.) given respectively to Cuddalore in Tamil Nadu and the Hili-Balurghat region in North Bengal. Fifthly, who could have been responsible for the application of the name Scythia, Indo-Scythia or Śakasthāna to the Lower Indus Valley excepting the known Scythian monarchs ? We do not think that there is an answer to this question which is likely to be as satisfactory as the suggestion associating the nomenclature with the occupation of the land by the Imperial Scythians. Sixthly, if the name of the Śakas or Scythians became associated with the lower valley of the Indus as early as the 1st century B. C., it is very probable that Śaka occupation had been confined to the said area for some time before it spread to the other adjoining regions.

Unlike Dr. Mukherjee's other works, the volume under review contains many misprints some of which do not find place in the corrigenda (pp. 329-36). But they do not detract from the value of the work. We recommend the book to the students of early Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR

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OUR DEPARTMENT

SESSION 1970–71

1. The number of students admitted to the First Year M. A. class (1970-72), under the restricted admission scheme, is 27.

2. The number of students in the Second Year M. A. Class (1970–71) is 45.

3. The number of candidates registered for the M. A. Examination in Ancient Indian History and Culture, 1969, was 169. Out of them, 130 actually appeared at the examination. Of the said candidates, 92 passed (one in Class I), the percentage of passes being 74.8. The Carmichael Professor's prize for regular attendance was awarded to Sm. Rama Gupta (1967-69)—*India and Ethiopia from the Seventh Century B.C.* by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee.

4. The number of books purchased for the Library during this session (1970-71) is 176, thus making a total of 4447. The number of books received during the period in exchange for the Centre's publications and for review in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* is 66, so that the total number of books in the Library is now 4513.

5. For 1970-72, the following graduates were selected as National Scholars for studying the M. A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture: (1) Sri Aniruddha Prasad (Patna University), (2) Sm. Saila Kumari (Andhra University), (3) Sm. Krishna Majumdar (Calcutta University), and (5) Sm. Ratna Gangopadhyay (Calcutta University).

6. Sm. Malaya Sengupta, M.A. (Calcutta University), was appointed Research Scholar of the Department, while Sri Saikat Bandyopadhyay, M.A. (Calcutta University), and Sm. Kalpana Ghosh, M.A. (Lucknow University), were appointed Research Scholars at the Centre. Sm. Sengupta has taken up *Studies in the Early Inscriptions of Gujarat* and Sri Bandyopadhyay *The Brāhmī Script* as the subjects of their research.

7. Sm. Bandana Chattopadhyay, M.A. (Visva-Bharati University), was appointed Junior Research Fellow at the Centre. Dr. Sm. M. I. Marfatia M.A., Ph.D. (Bombay University) was also appointed Junior Research Fellow.

8. The following have been admitted to the degree of D. Phil in AIHC, Calcutta University:

(i) Sri Chunilal Chakrabarti, M. A., for his thesis entitled *The Historical Geography of Udīcya or Uttarāpatha.*

(i) Sri Dipakchandra Bhattacharya, M.A., for his thesis entitled *Studies in Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India.*

(iii) Sri Amalendu Sarkar, M. A., for his thesis entitled *S'iva in Medieval Indian Literature.*

9. The following have submitted their theses for the degree of D. Phil. in AIHC, Calcutta University.

(i) Sri Pritimadhab Ray, M. A., his thesis entitled *Origin of S'aivism* (re-submitted).

(ii) Sri Ramchandra Das, M. A., his thesis entitled *Cambodian Art.*

(iii) Sri Pranabkumar Bhattacharya, M. A., his thesis entitled *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh from Early Records.*

(iv) Sri Kalipada Hore, M.A., his thesis entitled *Theft and Robbery in Early Indian Records.*

(v) Sri Jnanranjan Haldar, M. A., his thesis entitled *Buddhist Mythology in Pali Literature.*

(vi) Sri Dharmanarayan Das, M. A., his thesis entitled *Early History of Kaliṅga.*

10. Six lectures were delivered at the Centre, the names of the lecturers and the subjects of the lectures being as follows :

(i) Dr. G. Bhattacharya (Research Fellow, Berlin Museum)—'Indian and Central Asian Antiquities in the Berlin Museum'.

(ii) Prof. Heinz Mode (Director, Buddhist Centre, University of Halle, G.D.R.)—'C. F. Köppen, Pioneer of Buddhist Research in Germany'.

(iii) Dr. Asko Parpola (Research Fellow, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen)—'Indian Studies in the Scandinavian Countries'.

(iv) Dr. A. B. Ganguli (Editor, *Betar Jagat*, All-India Radio, Calcutta) —'Sixtyfour Arts of Ancient India'.

(v-vi) Prof. D. C. Sircar delivered two special lectures entitled 'Introduction to Indian Epigraphy' and 'Introduction to Indian Palaeography'.

The summaries of and discussions on these lectures are being published in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History.*

11. The annual series of two days' Inter-University Seminars on (i) 'Ancient Indian Religious Life' and (ii) 'Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient India', was held at the Centre on the 25th and 26th February, 1971, under the Chairmanship of Prof. D. C. Sircar. Besides scholars pertaining to the University of Calcutta and other local institutions, out of the Universities invited, representatives of the following Universities attended the Seminars : Burdwan, Delhi, Jadavpur, Nagpur and Visva–Bharati (Santiniketan). The proceedings of the Seminars will be published in the near future.

12. Ten Monthly Seminars were held at the Centre in which 88 papers were read and discussed by the teachers of the Department and Research Associates, Fellows and Scholars attached to the Centre and Department. The proceedings of most of these Seminars have been incorporated in the present Volume of the Journal.

13. The Centre Published (1) *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* and (2) *Social Life in Ancient India*, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, being proceedings of the first and the second day of the sixth series of the annual Inter-University Seminars held at the Centre in February, 1970. Vol. III of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (1969-70), edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, was published by the Department.

14. (i) Prof. D.C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department and Director of the Centre, was elected President of (1) Twenty-seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held under the auspices of the Vikram University, Ujjayinī, and (2) Ninth Annual Session of the Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Pariṣad (Bhopal) to be held under the auspices of the University of Saugor, both in December, 1971. Prof. Sircar delivered two special lectures, as mentioned above, at the Department of AIHC Calcutta University and another three on 'Epigraphical Discoveries in East Pakistan' at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, has just published his three lectures on 'Some Problems concerning the Kuṣāṇas' delivered there in January, 1969.

(ii) Dr. Kalyankumar Ganguli, Reader in the Department, has been elected President of the forthcoming session of the Museums Association of India.

(iii) Dr. Amarendranath Lahiri, Reader in the Department, has been elected Vice-Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India and President of the same society for its forthcoming session to be held at Poona in October, 1971.

(iv) Dr. Sisirkumar Mitra, Reader at the Centre, has been elected Treasurer of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

(v) Dr. Kalyankumar Dasgupta, Lecturer in the Department, attended the 28th International Congress of Orientalits held at Canberra in January, 1971. He participated in Seminars held in October, 1970, and April, 1971, under the auspies of the Institute of Historical Studies and the Asiatic Society at Jodhpur and Calcutta.

(vi) Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay, Lecturer in the Department, attended the 59th Annual Conference of the Archaeological and Numismatic Societies of India held at Nagpur in October and November, 1970.

(vii) Dr. Sm. Kshanika Saha, Research Associate at the Centre, has published a book entitled *Buddhism in Central Asia*.

(viii) Dr. Narendranath Bhattacharya, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre, published a book entitled *Indian Mother Goddess*. He delivered a lecture at the Rabindra Bharati University in March, 1971.

(ix) Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre, published a book entitled *The Cult af Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India*.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	12, line 32.	—*Read*—sub-phases
,,	36, note 83.	—Read—*Pratilom-ānulomāś=ca*
,,	44, line 7.	—*Read*—son *for*—sun
,,	57, line 17.	—*Read*—*sañjaks*
,,	62, note 1.	—*Read*—S. K. Bhuyan
,,	75, line 14.	—*Read*—fabricated
,,	81, line 26.	—*Read*—with a few
,,	93, last line.	—*Read*—the donees
,,	95, top line.	—*Read*—and Palaeography
,,	100, line 2.	—*Read*—avoided, and it was easy to select a word suited to the metre.
,,	113, last line.	—*Read*—to *la*. Outside the southernmost areas, *ḍa* with a dot added to its bottom was read as *la*. Could it be due to an influence of the modified pronunciation of intervocalic *ḍa*?
,,	115, line 29.	—*Read*—Siddhamātṛikā
,,	140, line 12.	—*Read*—personal name
,,	149, line 11.	—*Read*—do not
,,	150, lines 4, 8.	—*Read*—Ṛṣabha
,,	152, note 1, line 2.	—Read—*Accounts*
,,	185, note 9, line 9.	—*Read*—cross-legged
,,	207, line 3.	—*Read*—Anil Chandra Pal
,,	,, line 4.	—*Read*—its occurrence
,,	208, note 4.	—*Read*—No. 11
,,	211, line 17.	—*Read*—Hissar, Giyan
,,	219, line 3.	—*Read*— to give *for*—here for
,,	220, line 2.	—*Read*—represents *for*—transcribes
,,	,, line 21.	—*Read*—Danish Government *for* British Government
,,	221, line 20.	—*Add the sentence*—S. Soerensen's *Index to the Proper Names in the Mahābhārata,* published in 1904, is a life's work that had far-reaching impact on Indological studies.
,,	222, line 8.	—*Read*—H. Holmboe
,,	223, line 9.	—*Read*—Central Asia and now
,,	,, line 33.	—*Read*—tribal
,,	224, line 9.	—*Read*—Jarl Charpentier and R. I. Johansson

Page 224, line 13. —*Read*—Roennow
„ „, line 16. —*Read*—Aggavaṁsa and other Pali texts.
„ „ line 22. —*Read*—Wikander
„ „ line 24. —*Read*—Austrian *for*—Australian
„ „ line 31. —*Read*—Suneson
„ „ line 32. —*Read*—Wallden
„ „ line 33. —*Read*—Gunilla
„ 225, line 2. —*Add*—Dr. Carl-Gustaf Diehl, who has spent many decades at Tiruchirappalli as the Bishop of Tranquebar, has published several valuable studies of Indian religious life. His daughter, Miss Anita Diehl of Luna University, is doing research in modern Indian history.
„ 226, line 10. —*Read*—carved
„ 230, note 25. —*Read*—The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* says that Aditi
„ „ note 27. —*Add*—Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 3. 9. 5.
„ 231, line 22. —*Read*—Divākara
„ „ note 30. —*Read*—Prabhāsakhaṇḍa, Prabhāsakṣetramāhātmya, 101. 58-69.
„ 232, line 12. —Read—*Gabhasti* for—*Gamasti*.—Ed.
„ 239, line 8. —Read—*Rupam*
„ 243, note * —*Read*—The arched-window motif.—D. R. D.
„ 250, line 2. —*Read*—which India
„ 252, line 6. —*Read*—Śrīvijaya
„ 253, line 20. —Read—*toraṇas*
„ 273, line 19. —*Read*—to Sanchi
„ 312, line 39. —*Read*—2 *for*—3
„ 312, line 39. —*Add*—The note has been published above, pp. 192-95.
„ 316, line 25. —*Add*—The note has been published above, pp. 181-86.
„ 318, line 36. —*Add*—The note has been published above, pp. 195-200.
„ 313, line 37. —Read—*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*
„ 320, line 18. —*Read*—pp. 203–06
„ 328, line 17. —*Read*—presents
„ 333, line 25. —*Read*—D. R. Das *for*—S. R. Das
„ 339, line 12. —*Read*—appear to have
„ 348, line 1. —*Read*—where
„ 371, line 4. —*Read*—35 *for*—27

REPRINT

ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS

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D. R. BHANDARKAR

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LECTURE I

Importance of the Study of Numismatics

Numismatics, as you are all aware, is a science which deals with coins. Before, however, we begin our study of this science, the question must arise : what is the importance of this study for the purpose of the ancient history of India ? This question is natural, because it is generally believed that numismatics merely confirms history, but seldom modifies or amplifies it. It must be noted, however, that this remark holds good in the case of the history of other countries, but not of India. No connected written history of this country for any period prior to the Muhammadan conquest has come down to us. We therefore have to reconstruct it, as best as we can, out of the materials at our disposal. These belong to two main classes, the first of which consists of contemporaneous works whether written as panegyrics by Indian authors or as descriptive accounts by foreign travellers and historians. The second class of materials is of a more important nature, and comprises epigraphy and numismatics. In the reconstruction of the ancient history of India, coins have therefore to be classed with inscriptions in point of importance. Numismatics is thus, like epigraphy, an important source of ancient Indian history ; in other words, it helps us to reconstruct history and does not merely corroborate it.

If numismatics is thus a source of history, as important as

epigraphy itself, can it be shown, it may be asked, to shed light on the different aspects of ancient Indian history? Let us take up Political History first; but it is hardly necessary for me to dwell on this point, because many of you are already aware how much beholden Political History is to this science. In a book on the ancient history of India, how often we read about the Indo-Bactrian Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa kings, whose might overshadowed the north of India from about 250 B. C. to about 300 A. D. and who were either ruling contemporaneously or supplanting each other in succession? What would have been our knowledge of the Indo-Bactrian Greek princes, if we had not had their coins to help us? Of course, some Greek historians like Justin and Strabo have preserved an account of some of them; but this account is of four or five princes only and ranges scarcely over half a century. On the other hand, a study of their coins reveals to us no less than thirty-seven such Greek princes,[1] whose sway extends over two centuries and a half. The condition of the contemporaneous barbarian potentates, viz., the Indo-Scythians,[2] was even worse. Who would have heard at all of Vonones, Spalirises, Spalahores, Spalagadames, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, if their coins had not been found? Certainly no historian or traveller, Indian or foreign, has preserved any reminiscences of them. Again, it is their coins which not only give us their names, but also enable us to fix their order of succession.[3] The Indo-Parthians, who overthrew the Indo-Scythians, do not seem to have fared better. Of course, there is an epigraphic record of Gondophares, the founder of the

1 Smith, *CCIM*, pp. 5-6. [The exact number is difficult to say because the same name was sometimes assumed by more kings than one.—Ed.]

2 I agree with Whitehead in calling them Indo-Scythian. My reasons have been set forth in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 13, note 15.

3 I was the first to fix this order of succession in *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 284 ff., which was accepted by V. A. Smith in *ZDMG*, 1906, pp. 59ff.

Indo-Parthian dynasty, and there is also a reference to him, perhaps of a nebulous character, preserved in the Syriac version of the Legend of the Christian Apostle, Saint Thomas. But what about his successors, Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pakores and so forth ? If coins of these latter had not been recovered, should we have ever known anything about them ? It is true that in regard to the Kuṣāṇas we are luckily in possession of a fairly large number of inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. But what about their immediate predecessors, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, who were the first to establish and propagate Kuṣāṇa supremacy ? Are we not indebted for our knowledge of these rulers to the study of their coinage ? Perhaps the most important service done by numismatics to political history is in connection with the Western Kṣatrapas who ruled over Kathiawar and Malwa. The founder of this dynasty was Caṣṭana, who has been identified with Tiastenes of Ozene (Ujjayinī), mentioned by Ptolemy, and has been assigned to *c.* 130 A.D. Here too, as in the case of the Indo-Bactrian Greek princes, many names of the Kṣatrapa rulers have been revealed by their coins which, again, as they give the name and title not only of the ruler but also of his father, and, what is most important, specify dates, enable us to arrange them in their order of succession and to determine sometimes even the exact year in which one Kṣatrapa ruler was succeeded by another.[4] Nay, a careful study of their coins enables us even to find out where and on what three occasions there was a break in the direct line from Caṣṭana.

Let us now turn to the Administrative History of India and see whether the study of coins has ever proved to be of any use there. I hope you have not forgotten the two lectures on Administrative History which I delivered here two years ago. I had then occasion to bring into requisition the various items of

4 Rapson, *CICBM-AWKTB*, Intro., pp. cliii-clvii.

information supplied on this point by Indian numismatics. Especially in the second of these lectures, which was concerned with the *Saṅgha* form of government, I drew your particular attention to three types of Collegiate Sovereignty denoted by the terms *Gaṇa*, *Naigama* and *Janapada*. *Gaṇa*, I then told you, was an oligarchy and was thus a distinct political form of government. This conclusion was in the main based upon Chapter 107 of the Śānti-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, but received corroboration from what we knew from numismatics. At least three types of coins have been brought to light which were issued by three different *Gaṇas*, viz., the Mālavas, Yaudheyas and Vṛṣṇis.[5] That all of them were *Gaṇas* was already known to us from inscriptions and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. And it may, therefore, perhaps be argued that these coins teach us nothing new. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that they possess great corroborative value, which cannot be ignored in a subject connected with Administrative History, which is still in its infancy. Although, in respect of *Gaṇa*, numismatics does not thus furnish us with new information, its value in respect of the other forms of *Saṅgha* government cannot be denied. In that second lecture of mine on Administrative History, I have clearly shown that, side by side with oligarchy, democracy of two kinds was flourishing in ancient India, one styled *Naigama* which was confined to a town, and the other *Janapada* which extended over a province. Of course, I am not here referring to the power which the people of towns and provinces, called *Paura* and *Jānapada* respectively, sometimes wielded in the administration of a country, and which is often alluded to in the epics and sometimes in works on law, but which was never of a political character. I am here referring to those cities and countries which enjoyed political autonomy and whose existence

5 *Carm. Lect.*, 1918, pp. 157, 166. [The Vṛṣṇi coin is now attributed to a king called Vṛiṣṇi-rāja Jñāgaṇa.—Ed.]

has been attested by coins alone. You probably remember that I mentioned one type of coins found in the Punjab on the obverse of which we find the word *Negama*, i. e., *Naigamāḥ*, and on the reverse such names as Dojaka, Tālimata, Atakatakā and so forth, and told you that they were really the civic coins struck by the peoples of these cities.[6] This, no doubt, reminds us of similar coinages of Phocaea, Cyzicus and other Greek cities,[7] and further points to the fact that the *Naigama* or civic autonomy was as conspicuous among the Hindus of the old Punjab as among the Greeks on the Western coast of Asia Minor. That a country autonomy, or *Janapada* as it was called, was not unknown to India is similarly clear from a study of coins only. Thus we have two types of coins, one of which was issued by the Rājanya-janapada and the other by the Śibi-janapada of the Madhyamikā country.[8] A few other interesting facts connected with Administrative History are also revealed by numismatics ; but it will take me long to mention them. Two administrative puzzles furnished by it I will, however, mention here as they are particularly interesting. Those of you who have critically examined the coins of the Indo-Scythian dynasty must have already been faced with one of these puzzles. Four kings of this family are Spalirises, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II. Now, the peculiarity of the coins of these princes is that, over and above those each issues in his name alone, the king strikes coins conjointly with his predecessor and his successor, but with this difference that in the first case his name appears on the Kharoṣṭhī reverse and that of his prede-

6 *Ibid*, 1918, p. 176. [*Nigama* may be 'a guild of merchants.'—Ed.]

7 Percy Gardner, *The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great*, p. 32,

8 *Carm. Lect., op. cit.*, p. 173. [The word *janapada* may mean here 'a country or state' and not a particular kind of republic. Madhyamikā (modern Nagarī near Chittorgarh) was the capital, not the *janapada* or territory of the Śibis.—Ed.]

cessor on the Greek obverse, and in the second case his name on the Greek obverse and that of his successor on the Kharoṣṭhī reverse. What is, however, puzzling is that the titles of the prince on the Greek obverse are of exactly the same political rank as those of the prince on the Kharoṣṭhī reverse. Thus to take one instance, viz., that of Azes I and Azilises, the former is styled *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Azou* and the latter *Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayiliṣasa*. Here the titles *Maharaja Rajaraja Mahata*, which have been coupled with the name of Ayiliṣa, i.e., Azilises, are the exact translation in Prakrit of the Greek titles *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou** associated with the name of Azes I. The titles are thus exactly identical, showing apparently that the two rulers wielded the same degree of political power. But, Azilises being the heir apparent and Azes the real king, how is this possible ? According to Hindu polity a *Yuvarāja* cannot possibly be assigned to the same political rank as his father the *Mahārāja*. Such was also not the case with the many foreign tribes who established a kingdom in India. Take, e.g., the Kṣatrapa dynasty which held sway over Kathiawar and Malwa and to which I have already referred in connection with the light which numismatics throws on political history. On their coins and in their inscriptions, the actual ruler is invariably designated *Mahākṣatrapa* and the heir-apparent merely *Kṣatrapa*. Hence it becomes inexplicable how, in the case of the Imperial Indo-Scythian dynasty, the king and the prince-royal come to assume titles of precisely the same political grade. This knotty point I hope some one of you will be able to solve one day.

So much for one administrative puzzle presented by the study of numismatics. I will now place another before you. I shall here come to a somewhat later period, viz., the Gupta age, and fix your attention on the coins of the founder of this

* [The epithets are here in the sixth case-ending.—Ed.]

dynasty. On the obverse are the figures of a king and his queen, who from the legends appear to be no other than Candragupta I and his wife Kumāradevī, and on the reverse the legend is *Licchavayaḥ*, i.e. 'the Licchavis'. What is the significance of these names ? Those who are numismatists need not be told that, as the name of the Licchavis occurs on the reverse, they had evidently become subordinate to Candragupta I. But how did they come to occupy this subordinate position ? Did Candragupta conquer them? This does not appear to be possible, because his son Samudragupta calls himself with pride *Licchavi-dauhitra*, 'the daughter's son of a Licchavi'. This Licchavi father-in-law of Candragupta could not have been a ruler of Nepal as conjectured by Fleet. Before the conquest of Nepal, the Licchavis according to their tradition ruled at Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra, and this is confirmed by one of the Nepal inscriptions published by Bhagwanlal Indraji.[9] The Licchavis, you know, were an oligarchic tribe and consisted not of one but of many chiefs who ruled conjointly.[10] How could they have become subordinate to Candragupta even through this matrimonial alliance ? This is the real puzzle presented by Candragupta's coins. Perhaps the solution is that he was already married to a Licchavi princess, and in some battle or through some such catastrophe all the Licchavi chiefs and their heirs were killed, leaving no male issue behind and leaving the whole state as patrimony to Kumāradevī, queen of Candragupta. Kumāradevī thus, through succession, came to be the ruler of Pāṭaliputra and the surrounding Licchavi territory, and, being a Hindu wife, her husband was naturally associated with her in this rule. But that Kumāradevī was an actual ruler is seen from the fact that, along with Candragupta's, her figure appears on the obverse of his coins. I do not claim any finality for the solu-

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 178, v. 7.

10 *Carm. Lect.*, *op. cit.*; pp. 167-68.

tion I have proposed, and I have no doubt that some one amongst you will suggest a better solution.[11]

We now turn to the sphere of Historical Geography and see what light numismatics throws on it. In this connection the coins issued by the old republics of ancient India are very useful. I shall give here two or three instances only.

We know that the Yaudheyas were an oligarchic tribe and are mentioned in inscriptions as being opposed to Rudradāman about 150 A.D. and to Samudragupta about 330 A.D.[12] They have also been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and by Pāṇini.[13] But the question arises : where are they to be located ? It is scarcely necessary for me to remind you of Pāṇini's *Sūtra* : *janapade lup* (IV. 2.81), according to which the name of a tribe or people serves also as the name of the country occupied by them. Hence when the question is asked : 'where are the Yaudheyas to be located?' it is also meant 'which was the province occupied by them ?' Now, the answer to this question can be given only by their coins, i.e., by taking into consideration the localities where the coins have been found. And we know that their coins 'are found in the Eastern Punjab, and all over the country between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers. Two large finds have been made at Sonpath, between Delhi and Karnal.'[14] It is this knowledge supplied by numismatics that enabled Alexander Cunningham to identify the Yaudheyas, rightly I think, with the Johiyās settled along both banks of the Sutlej, which part is consequently known as Johiyābār.

11 [Some scholars regard the coins as issued by Samudragupta in commemoration of the rise in Candragupta's political status as a result of matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis. These issues may, in that case, be compared with the pedigree coins of the Indo-Greek kings, e.g., coins of Eucratides issued in the name of his parents, Heliocles and Laodice.—Ed.]

12 [Probably, about 350 A.D.—Ed.]

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67.

14 Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XIV, p. 140 ; *CAI*, p. 76.

We know, again, from epigraphic records that the Mālavas were another tribe with an oligarchic form of government. The present territory of Malwa, which is in Central India, was doubtless named after them when they were settled there. But when this province came to be called Malwa after the Mālavas we do not exactly know, though certainly not till the Gupta period. In the time of Alexander, however, they were settled somewhere in the Punjab and have been referred to as the Malloi republic by the Greek historians who accompanied him.[15] Certainly the Mālavas must have migrated through the intermediate regions before they passed from the Punjab to Central India. But it may be asked : is there any evidence as to what this intervening province was through which they moved southwards ? This evidence is furnished by their coins which, as we know, have been picked up in large numbers in the south-east part of the Jaipur State, called Nāgar-cāl, in Rajputana.[16] As the coins here found range in date from *c.* 150 B.C. to *c.* 250 A.D., we may reasonably hold that in this period the Mālavas had established themselves in this province and must have been in occupation of that region, when about 100 A. D. Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the *Kṣatrapa* Nahapāna, defeated them,[17] as we learn from a Nasik cave inscription. They were not then far distant from Pushkar near Ajmer.

The migrations of the Mālavas remind us of those of another people, which have been brought to light by their coins. I mean the Śibis whose coins have been found in and near Nagarī, not far from Chittorgarh in Rajputana, and who have been called not a *Gaṇa*, but *Janapada*. Of course, from the *Mahābhārata* and also from an inscription, we know that the

15 *Carm. Lect.*, *op. cit.*, p. 158.]

16 [At Nagar near Uniyara now in the Tonk District, Rajasthan. It is called Mālavanagara in an inscription (Vikrama 741) discovered there.—Ed.]

17 *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 75. [The date may be about 120 A.D.—Ed.]

Śibis originally belonged to the Punjab ;[18] but coins show that some of them were settled in the Chittorgarh District shortly before Christ. It is curious, however, that the province so occupied by them is not called Śibi after them, but Madhyamikā, as is quite clear from their coin legend.[19] In one of my lectures, I informed you that the province of Madhyamikā has been mentioned both in the *Mahābhārata* and Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*,[20] and that Madhyamikā was in reality the name of both the province and its principal town as Avanti and Ayodhyā no doubt were. The coins thus enable us to identify the city of Madhyamikā with Nagarī, near Chittorgarh, which, as I have elsewhere shown, contains the ruins of a large town.[21] The significance of this identification will flash on you. You are aware that Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* gives two instances of *laṅ*, viz., *aruṇad=Yavanaḥ Sāketam* and *aruṇad=Yavano Madhyamikām*, to show that the past event denoted by this *laṅ* must be such as is capable of being witnessed by the speaker. Patañjali thus evidently gives us to understand that the city of Madhyamikā was besieged by a Yavana or Greek prince shortly before he wrote. And naturally curiosity centred round the location of this Madhyamikā. This curiosity, we know, was gratified by the study of coins only, i.e., by the occurrence of the name Madhyamikā on the coins of the Śibi-janapada. We thus see that this Madhyamikā can be no other than Nagarī itself, as far south as which place the Greek prince, whosoever he was, pushed forward in his expedition of conquest when Patañjali lived and wrote.

So much for the light which numismatics sheds on the

18 *MEM.ASI*, pp. 123-24.

19 [Madhyamikā was the capital of the Śibis and their coins were issued from there.—Ed.]

20 Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lect.*, *op. cit.*, p. 173, note 3 ; *MEM.ASI*, pp. 124-25.

21 *MEM.ASI*, pp. 125ff.

Ancient Geography of India. Let us now see what its utility is for the History of Religion. Religious history is of two kinds, viz., socio-religious and mytho-religious. We shall first confine our attention, briefly of course, to socio-religious history. The most important fact in this connection is the adoption of Hindu religion by, and absorption into Hindu society of, the foreign tribes which poured into India from time to time. This subject has been handled at full length by me in a paper entitled 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population'.[22] Epigraphic records are of great service in this respect ; but numismatics is by no means far behind. What is noteworthy here is that not only did these foreigners embrace Hinduism, i. e., Buddhism or Brāhmaṇism, but that some of them also actually adopted Hindu names. Thus Gondophares, the founder of the Indo-Parthian dynasty, has one type of coins on the reverse of which figures Śiva holding a trident.[23] Similarly, on at least two types of coins of Wema Kadphises, the second ruler of the Kuṣāṇa family, we find Śiva bearing a trident, sometimes with his bull Nandin behind and sometimes with gourd and tiger skin.[24] Here then we have two foreign kings who had become worshippers of Śiva and consequently followers of Brāhmaṇism. The case was, however, different with Wema Kadphises' successors, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. Here we notice great eclecticism practised by those Kuṣāṇa rulers in the matter of religious faith. We find very few Greek, many Iranian and only some Hindu divinities selected for worship.[25] This indi-

22 *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 7ff. [Reprinted in *JAIH*, Vol. I, pp. 267ff. ; also issued separately.—Ed.]

23 Gardner, *BMCGSKB*, pp. lviii and 104 ; *JRAS*, 1903, p. 285 ; Whitehead, *CCPML*, Vol. I, pp. 151–52.

24. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff. ; Smith, *CCIM.* p. 68 ; Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

25 [This is the characteristic mainly of the coinages of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka.—Ed.]

cates a curious religious cast of mind with these Kuṣāṇa sovereigns, and this sort of eclecticism we never find again in the religious history of India. But be it noted that the singular trait of religious mind evinced by these Kuṣāṇas in deducing a pantheon of their own by a selection from among the deities of various religions, which is of extreme importance for the religious history of any country, is made known to us for the first time not by epigraphy, but numismatics only. Now, among the Indian divinities worshipped by these foreigners the most important is, of course, the Buddha who, however, figures indubitably on the coins of Kaniṣka alone. There is nothing strange in this as Kaniṣka is looked upon as a patron of Buddhism. There can be no doubt in regard to the identity of the Buddha on Kaniṣka's coins as he has been actually so named on them. And this is a very important piece of information and conveyed to us by numismatics only, because this is the earliest human representation of the Buddha[26] known to us so far, which can be assigned to the reign of any particular king. Although Kaniṣka was a devotee of the Buddha, he had not given up the Kuṣāṇa family worship of Śiva, which god appears on some of his coins,[27] and also on those of Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. The name of this god, as it appears on their coins, consists of four Greek letters O H Þ O, which has puzzled many numismatists. They are all convinced that the god so represented is no other than Śiva ; but his name has baffled all their attempt at decipherment. Some numisma-

26. Perhaps this goes back to the reign of his predecessor Kadaphes, because one coin type, on which his name is illegible, but which on other grounds has been attributed to him, has on the obverse the Buddha seated in conventional attitude (*JASB*, 1897, p. 300; Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 181).

27 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 132 ; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 74 ; Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

tists equate it with Ugra (Śiva) ;[28] some see in it some connection with *ukṣan* or *vṛṣa*,[29] the bull of Śiva, and others take it to stand for Bhaveśa.[30] But none of these readings can be considered satisfactory, because the word *ukṣan* or *vṛṣa* by itself can hardly denote Śiva, and Bhaveśa and Ugra, although they are names of Śiva, can hardly be represented in sound by the four Greek characters. Now, the second of these four letters, as I have just said is H. Knowing, as numismatists do, how H is confounded with M in the Kuṣāṇa period, I feel no hesitation in reading the letters to be O M *þ* O, and taking them to stand for Umeśa.[31] The worship of Śiva seems to have been continued by the Scytho-Sassanians who succeeded the Kuṣāṇas. We thus have coins of Varahran V (422-40 A.D.), the reverse of which bears Śiva and the bull.[32] This Śiva-bull type is afterwards found on the coins of only one king, viz., Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa (600-625 A.D.).[33] But Śiva is not the only divinity that was worshipped. Other deities connected with him are found represented either jointly or severally on the coins of Huviṣka, viz., Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. Nay, an instance is not wanting of even the bull of Śiva being worshipped by these foreigners. Thus on some coins of Mihirakula, the most powerful Hūṇa potentate, we have a bull-emblem of Śiva—with the legend *jayatu Vṛṣaḥ* on the reverse.[34]

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28. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. lxv.

29 *Revue Numismatique*, 1888, p. 207 ; *N.Chr.*, 1892, p. 62 ; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1045, note 1.

30 *JRAS*, 1897, p. 323.

31 The name of Umā occurs on a coin of Huviṣka (*N.Chr.*, 1892, Pl. XIII). where M is twice written like H (*JRAS*, 1897, p. 324).
[It is difficult to agree with this view.—Ed.]

32 Rapson, *IC*, Pl. II, No. 15.

33 Allan, *CCGD*, p. 147.

34 Smith, *op. cit.*, 236.

As regards the adoption of Hindu names, there is but one instance among the foreign princes so far noted, viz., Vāsudeva, successor of Huviṣka. But if you turn to the Kṣatrapa dynasty which held Surāṣṭra and Malwa, you will find that, except two, all the twenty-seven names of these rulers supplied to us by their coins are distinctly Hindu. The founder of this family was, of course, Caṣṭana, and his father's name was Ysāmotika.[35] Both these names are Scythic and therefore foreign. But immediately after Caṣṭana we begin to get a string of Hindu names, such as Jayadāman, Rudradāman and so forth, and as if to remind us that these Hindu names were borne by princes of alien extraction, we find immediately after Rudradāman the name Dāmaysada,[36] about whose foreign origin no doubt can arise.

Let us now see whether a study of coins can prove itself useful in the sphere of mytho-religious history. A short while ago I told you that Gondophares and the Kuṣāṇa rulers were devotees of Śiva and that this god was represented on the reverse of their coins. Evidently Śiva here figures as an object of worship. But how is Śiva worshipped now-a-days ? Do the Hindus worship this deity under his man-like representation, i.e., do they worship his image holding a trident and tiger-skin and standing near his bull, as we no doubt find him on the coins of these Indo-Scythian kings ? Do they not invariably worship him under the form of Liṅga ?[37] Of course, images of Śiva as on these coins are by no means unknown at the present day or even as far back as the post-Gupta period ; but certainly they are not now, and were never then, objects of worship. On the coins of these foreign rulers, however, the figure of Śiva has no significance except as an object of worship, and yet

35 [According to Rapson, the name is Ghsāmotika.—Ed.]

36 [According to Rapson, the name is Dāmaghsada.—Ed.]

37 [Earthen images of Śiva in human form are sometimes worshipped in Bengal.—Ed.]

we find on them not a Liṅga, but a regular representation of Śiva. This clearly shows that up to the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva at any rate, Śiva worship had not come to be identified with Liṅga worship. Of course, from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini's *Sūtra*, *jīvik-ārthe c=āpaṇye*, we learn that till his time, i.e., the middle of the second century B. C., an image of Śiva and not a phallus was made for worship.[38] But now we know that till the seventh century A. D., at any rate, Śiva in his human form continued to be worshipped, though already in the beginning of the Gupta period phallus worship was being foisted on the Śiva cult. And, in fact, the earliest representation of Liṅga that has been found in a Śaiva temple is at Gudimallam in South India, and, on the grounds of plastic art, it cannot possibly be assigned to any date prior to the 4th century A. D.[39] And even here, it is worthy of note, you do not see a mere Liṅga, but also a standing figure of Śiva attached to it in front[40] showing clearly that even in this period the representation of Śiva was not entirely forgotten and was not completely supplanted by Liṅga.[41] Another very early repre-

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38 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 208.

39 [Some scholars assign it to a much earlier date.—Ed.]

40 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 6.

41 There is a sculpture originally found at Bhita, but now lying in the Lucknow Museum. Führer, who discovered it, apparently took it to be the capital of a column. R. D. Banerji, however, says that Führer did not pay much attention to the inscription on it, from a careful study of which it appears that the sculpture represents a Liṅga and that the date of the Liṅga, on palaeographic evidence, is the first century B. C. (*ASI,AR*, 1909-10, pp. 147-48). Now, in the first place, the characters cannot, with certainty, be proved to be earlier than those of the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva (*circa* 200 A. D.). Secondly, Banerji no doubt reads *l* [*iṁ*] *go* in his transcript; but the word is clearly *lago*, as he informs us in a footnote. Thirdly, even taking the word to be *liṁgo* with Banerji and further correcting it into *liṅgam*, it cannot denote the 'phallic symbol of Śiva', because in inscriptions such an image is termed *Mahādeva*, as was rightly maintained by Bloch. Fourthly, what is meant by saying that 'the *liṅga* of the sons of Khajahūti was dedicated

sentation of phallus is that supplied by the Liṅga stone near the village of Karamdāṇḍā and inscribed on the base.[42] The epigraph is dated 117 G.E. = 436 A.D., and speaks of the Liṅga as Bhagavān Mahādeva, showing a clear identification of the phallus with Śiva in this instance. But it must have taken sometime longer for the phallus to completely supersede and supplant, all over India, the human form of Śiva as an object of worship. For Śiva in his human representation certainly occurs, as I have said above, on the coins of Śaśāṅka who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. D.

Connected with Śiva are the four gods, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. They are, however, regarded at present as only four different names of one and the same god, viz., Kārttikeya. Two well-known verses of the *Amarakoṣa*, which include these names, are taken as giving seventeen names of this deity. In ancient times, however, these four names denoted four different gods. Of course, the passage from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, which I have just referred to and which speaks of an image of Śiva made for worship, speaks also of Skanda and Viśākha in that connection. This indicates that images not only of Śiva but also of Skanda and Viśākha were made in Patañjali's time for worship. Here both Skanda and Viśākha have been mentioned. Certainly, if these two names had denoted but a single deity, Patañjali would have men-

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by Nāgasiri', as Banerji's translation has it ? If the sons of Khajahūti had caused the idol to be made, the construction would have been *liṅgaṁ kāritaṁ Khajahūti-putraiḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaṁ ca Vāsiṣṭhīputreṇa*, etc. Fifthly, Banerji's opinion that the sculpture represents a Liṅga is based merely on the inscription which, as we have seen, does not speak of any Liṅga at all. He does not tell us that the sculpture looks like a Liṅga. Führer, on the other hand, looks upon it as the capital of a column, as we have seen. It is exceedingly desirable that some archaeologist should examine this sculpture carefully and tell us whether it has the form of a Liṅga.

42 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 70 ff.

tioned only one ; but as he has used two names, it is clear that Skanda and Viśākha must denote two different gods. However, let us see what coins teach us on this point. Those of you who have studied Kuṣāṇa coinage need not be told that we have two types of Huviṣka's coins which are of great interest to us in this connection. One type bears on the reverse three gods who have been named Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha, and another, four gods named Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena.[43] As all these names have each a figure corresponding to it,[44] is it possible to doubt that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena represent four different gods ? The coins thus convey to us an important piece of mythological knowledge, which we do not yet know from any other source. Huviṣka, most of you are aware, flourished in the second half of the second century A.D., and the *Amarakoṣa* is now-a-days being assigned to the 4th century A.D.[45] As the interval between the two is not very great, a doubt may naturally arise as to whether we are right in taking the two verses from the *Amarakoṣa* as giving us seventeen names of only one god, viz., Kārttikeya. The two verses in question consist of four lines, and strange to say, none of these lines mentions more than one of the four gods, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. Thus the first line has Mahāsena, the second Skanda, the third Viśākha, and the fourth Kumāra only. Had we not rather take each line separately and say that it really intends setting forth the different names of each one of these four gods instead of saying as we have been doing, up till now, that all the four

43 Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

44 [Really two deities (Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha), are represented on the first series and three (Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena) on the second (Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50).—Ed.]

45 *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 216. [Probably, about the 6th century A. D. See Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 456.—Ed.]

lines together give seventeen names of one and the same god?[46]

You will thus see how light is thrown by the study of coins on various aspects of the ancient history of India. But it is impossible, I am afraid, to perceive the full importance of numismatics unless we select coins of any particular class or period and find out what cumulative effect their critical study produces. I will show you what I mean by giving only one instance, viz., the group of coins struck by the Greeks settled in and about the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. Of course, I have already referred to their extreme importance in respect of the political history of Indo-Bactrian rule. I shall therefore, refrain from doing so here. But the question that presents itself to us at the very outset and even before we can think of deducing their political history is: when and where did the Greeks first come in contact with the people of India? I know some of you may say: "Of course, in the time of Pāṇini", for does he not in one *Sūtra* teach us the formation of the word *yavanānī* which is derived from *Yavana*, and which, as Kātyāyana tells us, signifies 'the writing of the Yavanas or Greeks'? But this is just the misfortune of Pāṇini, for, because he mentions the word *Yavana* in his *Sūtra*, he is at once dragged down to the 4th century B. C., i.e., to a period after the invasion of Alexander.[47] The internal evidence, which was adduced long ago by Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar and which must perforce place Pāṇini at least in the 6th century B. C., is set aside, although it is of an irrefragible character, and most of the European scholars will not even entertain the idea that the Yavanas or Greeks might possibly have been on the borders of India long before Alexander, and that

46 [The suggestion is not convicing because earlier writers like Kālidāsa regard them as different names of the same deity.—Ed.]

47 [Pāṇini is often assigned to the 5th century B. C. See Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 434.—Ed.]

Pāṇini's reference to this people is thus perfectly compatible with the date assigned to him by Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar. In fact, I confess that the possibility of the Yavanas having come in contact with the people of India long prior to the time of Alexander had suggested itself to me when I first took up the study of the Aśokan inscriptions. Rock Edict XIII, as most of you must be aware, speaks of five Greek kings, whose kingdoms were, of course, outside India, at any rate outside the dominions of Aśoka. But I am not referring here to the passage which contains the names of these Greek potentates. I am alluding here to that part of the edict which gives the list of those peoples whose countries were included in Aśoka's empire. And this list, be it noted, begins with these very Yavanas, after whom are mentioned Kambojas, Gandhāras and so forth. The question here arises: who were these Yavanas? Of course, they were Greeks. But where are they to be placed? It is no doubt tempting to say that they may have occupied Bactria which was certainly associated with Greek rule, at a somewhat later period, at any rate. In Aśoka's time, we know that Bactria was comprised in the Syrian empire of Antiochus II Theos. We learn from the Greek historians, Trogus, Justin and Strabo, that it was Diodotus who first made Bactria independent. He was a Satrap of this province under Antiochus II Theos, and it was after the death of this monarch that Diodotus took advantage of the disturbances that followed it and managed to make himself independent. It is therefore impossible to locate the Yavanas of Rock Edict XIII in Bactria, because this edict was promulgated when Antiochus II Theos was living, his name being actually specified therein. Which country, then, did these Yavanas occupy? Of course, it must have bordered on Gandhāra, which is mentioned immediately after it in Aśoka's inscription. And I suspect that it has to be identified with Aria or Arachosia which were the two provinces ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta and which must have been

inherited intact by Aśoka. I admit it is not possible to locate these Yavanas exactly, but this much is certain that they were outside the kingdom of Antiochus II Theos, and lived in Aśoka's empire in a territory adjoining Gandhāra, but outside India.[48] But when could they have come and settled there? Did they come with Alexander? No, this is not possible, because the Macedonian conqueror did not leave behind him any permanent settlements in or near India. Of course, he may have left some Greek garrisons; but certainly a province is not named after the race of garrisoned soldiers. It is only when a tribe or people comes in such terrific masses as to outnumber the original inhabitants that it gives its name to the province so occupied by them. We have many such instances, e.g., of the Ābhīras, Gurjaras and so on.[49] The idea of a mere garrison imparting the name of its race to the country where it is stationed is, I am afraid, utterly inadmissible, if not even ludicrous. In all likelihood, the Yavanas of Rock Edict XIII came and settled in large numbers in some outlying province of India long before Alexander. But if we assume that the Yavanas had their colony in a territory conterminous to India, they must have exercised some sort of political independence for at least some period, and have we, you may naturally ask, got any evidence to that effect? And this question numismatics is, I think, in a position to answer in the affirmative. Coins, similar to those of the earliest type of Athens, are known to have been collected from the north-west frontiers of India. They bear head of Athena on the obverse and owl on the reverse.[50] And the question must naturally arise: why

48 [The Greek edicts of Aśoka recently discovered near Kandahar in Afghanistan suggest that the said area, i.e., ancient Arachosia, had the greatest concentration of Greek population in Aśoka's empire.—Ed.]

49 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 430ff. [Cf., however, the name of Cinabhukti (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 291-92).—Ed.]

50 *N. Chr.*, Vol. XX, p. 191.

are they to be found in the frontier provinces of India ? It is no doubt possible to say that these owls of Athens, as this type of coinage is called, were carried to India in the course of commerce.[51] Similar owls have also been picked up in Southern Arabia Felix.[52] But none of the owls found in the east are of the types known from Athens. In the case of this Semitic country, again, it is not impossible to say that they may have travelled there as a result of commercial intercourse, because they are generally countermarked on the obverse with Sabaean letters or are scratched with a Sabaean monogram on the reverse. When a foreign money for the first time comes into circulation along with the native coinage of a country, all the new specimens are tested, and those, which are found not deficient in weight or quality of metal, are sanctioned by marking them with an official stamp, which may consist of a single letter or symbol. These official stamps are no doubt noticeable on the owls of Athens brought to light in South Arabia. But they are conspicuous by their absence on those recovered on the frontiers of India. It cannot be doubted that the practice of countermarking foreign coinage in circulation was observed in or near India also, for we do know that the silver Persian sigloi which were current in the Punjab bear distinctly Indian countermarks.[53] When, therefore, no countermarks are traceable on the owls of Athens picked up from the frontier region of India, it is not reasonable to say that they were brought there with the expansion of commerce. The natural inference must be that they were native to some outlying district of India which was peopled by the Yavanas or Greeks. And as the original owls of Athens have been assigned to *circa* 594-560

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51 Rapson, *IC*, pp. 3, 9.

52 G. F. Hill, *The Ancient Coinage of Southern Arabia* (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. VII), pp. 2-3.

53 *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 874 ff.

B. C.,[54] a Greek colony, it is possible to infer, may have been established near India about 550 B. C.[55] There can, after all, be nothing strange in Pāṇini flourishing in the 6th century B.C. and in his referring also to *yavanānī*, the writing of the Greeks. In fact, if it is not admitted that the Greeks had a settlement near India before Alexander, how is it possible, I ask, to unravel the enigma about the coins of Sophytes ? Sophytes, you know, ruled over a province somewhere in the Western Punjab when Alexander invaded India, and as he acknowledged speedy submission to the Macedonian emperor, he was reinstated in his kingdom. Now, we have found some coins, which bear his head on the obverse and a cock and his name in Greek characters on the reverse. When could he have struck these coins ? This is the most puzzling question to answer. Did he strike them after the death of Alexander, but before the Punjab was subjugated by Candragupta ? Then it is very strange that we do not see the bust of Alexander instead of his. For up to B.C. 306, i.e., till the extinction of the old royal line of Macedonia, we find that all the generals of Alexander retain the name and bust of Alexander on their coins, and if Sophytes was no better and perhaps even worse in point of political power than these generals, does it not look the height of presumption for him to have his own name and bust on the coins instead of those of Alexander who was doubtless his overlord ? And if it is the height of presumption to have his name and bust on coins, if they are supposed to be struck after the death of Alexander, would it not be sheer folly on his part if he issued them when Alexander was actually alive and in the Punjab ? I am afraid, the only way to get over this difficulty is to suppose that Sophytes had struck his coins before Alexander

54 Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 11.

55 [Better, in the latter half of the 6th century B.C., during the rule of the early Achaemenians.—Ed.] For the extreme probability of a similar Roman settlement at or near Madura in South India, see *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 613-15.

invaded India and before he lost his independence. Now, if Sophytes was an Indian by extraction, how is it possible to account for the presence of a bust and the employment of the Greek character before the Macedonian conquest of the Punjab ? This is simply inconceivable. The only explanation that is plausible is that he was a Greek prince in India before the advent of Alexander. I know Sophytes is not considered to be a Greek name. It has been taken to be identical with Sanskrit *Saubhūti*.[56] But there is nothing strange in a Greek taking a Hindu name immediately before the Maurya period, if another Greek, shortly after, i.e., in Aśoka's time, adopts a Persian name, viz., Tuṣāspha.

But if the Greeks really conquered some region near the north-west frontiers of India and were settled there, as no doubt numismatic considerations lead us to conclude, is there any reference to such a fact in any one of the accounts drawn up by the Macedonian historians of India about the time of Alexander's invasion ? If the Greeks really established a colony in a border province of India, it is inconceivable that such a thing which would be of supreme interest to a Greek should be ignored by any historian of Alexander's time. Do we then, as a matter of fact, find any reference to it in the work of any Greek historian ? This is the natural question that must arise here and which you will no doubt expect me to tackle even though I may have to deviate strictly from the subject of the present lecture. And I am glad to say that there are two passages in the Fifth Book of Arrian's work which, in my opinion, answer this question and thus corroborate the numismatic evidence.[57] The passages in question, to which H. C.

56 Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 152-53 ; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 7. [For a controversy on Sophytes, see Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 360 and references cited there. – Ed.]

57 McCrindle, *Ancient India : its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, pp.79-80. For an ancient Greek burial ground, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 144.

Raychaudhuri was the first to draw my attention, give a description of the city and people of Nysa which was situated between the Kophen and the Indus. The deputies of Nysa, who waited upon Alexander, themselves told the Macedonian monarch that their city was founded by Dionysus as he was returning to the shores of Greece after conquering the Indian nation and that he called it Nysa after the name of his nurse Nysa, and in proof of their statement that Dionysus was their founder adduced the fact that ivy which grew nowhere else in the land of the Indians grew in their city. In fact, anybody who carefully reads these passages will be convinced that Dionysus here is a real Hellenic deity and not any Hindu god in Hellenic garb and that the account clearly points to Nysa having been a Greek colony.

Let us now look at the coins of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks from the religious point of view. You will perhaps wonder what new thing can possibly be taught by this class of coins. And you may naturally ask: what new contribution these coins can possibly make to the knowledge of the Hellenic pantheon which we already possess from more direct and exhaustive sources? Let us, however, see whether it is possible to approach the study of these coins from a new angle of vision. If Sophytes was a Greek of the time of Alexander and yet he adopted a Hindu name, is it not possible to say that some of the Indo-Bactrian kings must have embraced Hindu religion? Or if you want to leave Sophytes out of account, do we not know that during the regime of Antialcidas when the Indo-Bactrian rule was in the heyday of its glory, his very ambassador Heliodorus, a Greek, had become a *Bhāgavata*, a devotee of Vāsudeva? How is it then possible to think that none of the Indo-Bactrian kings was a Hindu? Is it not therefore possible to study their coins more closely and from this view point? In this connection, allow me to invite your attention to the square bronze coins of Eucratides. The deity figuring

on the reverse has been taken to be Zeus seated on throne who holds a wreath and a palm branch and has the fore-part of elephant in front of him.[58] There is also a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the reverse, which reads *Kaviśiye nagara-devata* and means 'the city-deity of Kāpiśī'. Now, Kāpiśī was a Hindu town and has been referred to in one of Pāṇini's *Sūtras* as a place where good wine was brewed.[59] Evidently, therefore, the divinity figuring on the coin is a Hindu one, being the *nagara-devatā* of Kāpiśī, and yet it has been so figured on the coin that it can be easily mistaken for a Greek deity and has actually been mistaken for Zeus by the numismatists, as we have seen. The term *nagara-devatā* occurs on another coin also, which unfortunately cannot be assigned to any king as the legends on it have not been preserved whole and entire. On the obverse is a goddess with the Kharoṣṭhī legend [*Pa*]*khala-vadi-devata*,[60] which has been taken to mean the tutelary divinity of Puṣkalāvatī. Puṣkalāvatī also was a Hindu city, and yet we find that the goddess on this coin wears Greek dress and a mural crown which is the emblem of a Greek civic deity. The natural inference from a study of these coins is that mere Greek dress and emblems do not stamp a deity as necessarily a Hellenic one and that a Hindu divinity may appear under Hellenic garb on Indo-Bactrian coins. The Greeks were notorious for identifying foreign deities with their own if there were any characteristics in common. For do we not know that Megasthenes, e.g., calls Kṛṣṇa or rather Balarāma of Mathurā, Herakles, and Śiva of the hills, Dionysus ? Nay, that some of the deities occurring on the coins of the Indo-Bactrian Greek princes may not be Hellenic, though they are invested with Hellenic attributes, was suspected long ago by Percy Gardner. "On the coins of Demetrius", says this eminent nu-

58 *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 783 ff.

59 IV. 2.99.

60 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 787. [The ward is not *nagara-devatā* here.—Ed.]

mismatist, "Artemis is sometimes radiate ; on the coins of Agathocles, Zeus bears in his hand the three-headed Hekate, Herakles crowns himself with a wreath, Pallas appears in short skirts, and many other such strange forms of Greek deities appear. To search out the reasons of these variations of type, reasons to be found probably in many instances in the influence of local Indian and Persian legend or belief, would be a very attractive task, and not hopeless, considering the data furnished us by the legends of the gold Indo-Scythic coins. The earliest of the clearly Indian types to make its appearance is a dancing-girl, wearing long hanging ear-rings and oriental trousers, on the money of Pantaleon and Agathocles. As we come to a later period, non-Hellenic types, or types in which there is a non-Hellenic element, gradually make their way on the coins. On the coins of Philoxenus and Telephus, we find a radiate figure of a sun-god, holding a long sceptre. On those of Amyntas and Hermaeus, we find the head of a deity wearing Phrygian cap, whence issue rays."[61] I am sorry I had to quote this long extract here ; but as Percy Gardner is looked upon as a very great authority on this subject, his opinion must be considered to be invaluable. And you have just seen what that opinion is. He clearly admits that some types of Greek deities are fantastic according to the Hellenic standard and that some contain an unmistakable non-Hellenic element. It is a matter of regret that no numismatist has gone farther than where Percy Gardner left this line of inquiry ; but what I have said is enough to show to you that the Indo-Bactrian Greeks were by no means slow to be influenced by Indian and other religious beliefs with which they came in contact. The exact character and extent of this influence can be determined only by a critical study of their coins, and the results of such a study, I have no doubt, will form an important contribution to the religious history of India, if not of the world.

61 *Op. cit.*, Intro., pp. lvii-lviii.

LECTURE II

Antiquity of Coinage in India

I believe, you still remember the words which the President of the last Oriental Conference used in regard to the mentality of the European and the Indian scholar towards Oriental subjects. "The Indian's tendency," said he, "may be towards rejecting foreign influence on the development of his country's civilization and to claim high antiquity for some of the occurrences in its history. On the other hand, the European scholar's tendency is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events." It is not possible to determine how far these words are true of the Indian scholars in regard to ancient Indian numismatics, because there is hardly any one amongst them yet who has seriously devoted himself to this subject;* but it must be admitted that they are true of some of the European scholars who were or are looked upon as authorities on this subject. Their attempt seems to have been unconsciously to prove that the invention of coinage was not indigenous to India and that Indians learnt the art of stamping money either from the Babylonians or from the Greeks, and that again certainly not prior to B.C. 600 or 700. Thus James Prinsep, to whom must always go the honour of having unravelled the most ancient Indian alphabet, the Brāhmī-lipi, thought that the Hindus derived their knowledge of coinage from the Greeks of Bactria. And although afterwards he had to admit that the Hindus had

* [Among Indian works on numismatics, appearing before 1921, mention may be made of R. D. Banerji's *Prācīnamudrā* (1915) and T. Desikachari's *South Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics* (1916).—Ed.]

an indigenous currency of precious metals, he persisted in at least maintaining that from the time the Greeks entered India 'may be assumed the adoption of a die-device, or of coined money properly so called, by the Hindus."[1] And as Prinsep was Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint, his words naturally carried great weight. And it is not strange if we find that H. H. Wilson, the author of the *Ariana Antiqua*, also indulged in surmise, and asserted that it was 'likely that the currency of the country consisted chiefly, if not exclusively, of lumps of gold and silver not bearing any impression, until the Hindus had learned the usefulness of money from their Bactrian neighbours, and from their commerce, especially with Rome'.[2] At the time when Prinsep and Wilson wrote, there were two other numismatists, both of them Englishmen, Alexander Cunningham and Edward Thomas, who, however, held the opposite view, and maintained the existence of an indigenous Indian coinage. But their arguments, forcible and cogent though they were, were left unheeded, and the tendency of assigning a later date and tracing almost everything Indian that is good or original to a foreign source, which is so natural to some European writers, re-asserted itself, probably with greater vigour. Thus James Kennedy holds that the punch-marked coins, or the Kārṣāpaṇas as they were known to the early Indians, which form the most ancient money in India, were copied from Babylonian originals after the opening of maritime trade in the sixth century B.C.[3] V. A. Smith's view is substantially the same. In his article on Numismatics, which he contributed to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, he says as follows: "The introduction into India of the use of coins, that is to say, metallic pieces of definite weight authenticated as currency

1 *JASB*, Vol. I, p. 394; Vol. IV, p. 626.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 404.

3 *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 279.ff

by marks recognised as a guarantee of value, may be ascribed with much probability to the seventh century B. C., when foreign maritime trade seems to have begun. There is reason to believe that the necessities of commerce with foreign merchants were the immediate occasion for the adoption by the Indian people of a metallic currency as well as of alphabetical writing."[4] In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* he gives a later date to the earliest coinage of India, the earliest type of the Kārṣāpaṇas being assigned by him to 500 or 600 B.C.[5]

Such, in short, are the theories held by most of the European numismatists in regard to the origin and antiquity of the Indian coinage. The view that the knowledge of the stamped or die-struck coins the Indians obtained from the Bactrian Greeks, which was originally started by James Prinsep, is no longer countenanced by numismatists of any repute. As early as 1853 when E. C. Bayley was Deputy Commissioner of the Kangra District in the Punjab, were discovered a number of silver coins "comprising specimens of Antimachus II, Philloxenes, Lysias, Antialcidas, and Menander, together with a few punch-marked pieces, the last being much worn, whilst all the Greek coins were comparatively fresh."[6] Evidence of a more convincing nature has been furnished by a find of coins made in John Marshall's excavations at Taxila during the cold season of the year 1912-13. In the Bhir Mound, the earliest of the three cities till then excavated by him there, he lighted upon a small hoard consisting of one hundred and seventy-five punch-marked coins along with a gold coin of Diodotus struck in the name of Antiochus II of Syria.[7] It will thus be seen that the

4 *Op*. cit., Vol. II, p. 135.

5 Vol. I, p. 133.

6 Cunningham, in *N. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), p. 209 ; also *CAI*, p. 54.

7 *ASI, AR,* 1912-13, pp. 41-42.

hoard belongs to a period when Diodotus was still a Satrap of Antiochus and before he had declared the independence of Bactria. As the punch-marked coins of this deposit are thus of a time when Bactria was still subordinate to the Seleucidan power, it is not possible to assert now that the Hindus learnt the art of coinage from their Bactrian Greek neighbours. Even numismatic considerations pointed to the same inevitable conclusion, as was contended long ago by Alaxander Cunningham: "If the Hindus had derived their knowledge of coinage from the Greeks, the types, shape, and standard of all their money would have been Greek."[8] The Bactrian Greek coins are round in form, conform to the Attic standard, and contain invariably a bust on the obverse and a Hellenic deity on the reverse. The earliest Indian coins, on the other hand, are mostly square in form, correspond to any but the Attic standard, and, in point of type, have never shown any bust or any Hellenic divinity on any one of their sides. Besides, they are utterly without inscriptions which are invariably found on Bactrian Greek coins. In these circumstances, to say that the Indians are indebted to the Bactrian Greeks for the art of stamping money is a mere gratuitous supposition unwarranted by any fact or rather opposed to all facts. It is no wonder, therefore, if the modern followers of Prinsep and Wilson have given up this assailable position, and are now taking their stand on the ground that the art of coin-making was adopted by the imitative Indians, somewhat earlier, i.e., between 500 and 700 B.C., but doubtless from some foreigners, possibly the Babylonians. You may perhaps ask whether Cunningham and Thomas, who, representing the other view, have any successors at present just as Prinsep and Wilson have Kennedy and Smith, and I may therefore inform you that, amongst the modern numismatists, E. J. Rapson is the only one who holds that the most ancient

8 *N. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), p. 212.

coinage of India was developed independently of any foreign influence.[9] In regard to their date, however, he says that its earliest specimens are probably as early as the beginning of the 4th century B. C. only.[10]

I confess, I cannot possibly understand how Kennedy and Smith can bring themselves to regard the Kārṣāpaṇas, the earliest coinage of India, as a foreign importation. Both again go to the extent of saying that the Indians adopted the art of coin-making—just as they learnt the usefulness of alphabet—from a foreign country. This is, indeed, a most astounding assertion. Of course, there was something to be said in favour of those who held that the Brāhmī, the oldest Indian alphabet, was derived from the Semitic script, as no doubt was contended by Weber and Bühler. We had both Brāhmī and Semitic alphabets before us for our scrutiny. We could very well see that there were many characters which bore close resemblance to each other, and were intended to denote the same sound. Again, it was almost conclusively shown that the Brāhmī like all Semitic alphabets, was originally written from right to left.* Besides, the earliest Semitic script was definitely known to be earlier than the earliest form of the Brāhmī-lipi. When, therefore, Bühler wrote on this subject, he was certainly right in maintaining that the Brāhmī was derived from the Semitic script, though, as I showed you last year,** we have now to abandon

9 *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 869ff.

10 *IC*, p. 2.

* [The question has been discussed in detail in Bhandarkar's paper mentioned in the following note. The legend of the Eraṇ coin of Dharmapāla really exhibits negative writing and is no doubt due to a mistake of the die-cutter. For the Duwe Gala cave inscription, cf. Sircar, ***Select Inscriptions***, 1965, p. 242, note 1.—Ed.]

** [The reference is no doubt to Bhandarkar's paper entitled 'Origin of the Indian Alphabet' appearing in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 493-514 written in 1920 (*ibid.*, p. 508, note 24a). A defect of this otherwise interesting paper, is that some late writings have been regarded as Neolithic. These include one which is really '19 1 74' (i.e. 19.1.1874 or January 19, 1874) which was wrongly viewed from upside down. This is a case of *muninān=ca mati-bhramaḥ*.—Ed.]

this theory in the light of the evidence furnished by certain prehistoric artifacts. But what are the grounds for saying that the Indians adopted their metallic currency from foreign source, as is no doubt asserted by Kennedy and Smith? Have they found any coins outside India of a period prior to 600 or 700 B.C. and of a type closely corresponding to the Kārṣāpaṇas? Is there any evidence at all to show that there was foreign coinage, of a date anterior to 600 or 700 B.C. the earliest date assigned by them to the Kārṣāpaṇas, which through identity or, at any rate, extreme similarity of type can rightly be called to be their prototype? I confess I am not aware of any such foreign coinage, and carefully as I have read the articles written by Kennedy and Smith on this subject, I do not find that they ever describe what sort of foreign coinage this was or even attempt to adduce any shred of evidence to show that such a coinage at all existed outside India. In these circumstances is it not absurd to asseverate that the Indians learnt the use of coinage from foreigners? Does is not clearly indicate that such an *ipse dixit* has been prompted by nothing but the propensity of attributing everything useful or clever in Indian art to an extraneous origin? I emphatically and without any fear of contradiction maintain that the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage, which is the earliest metallic currency whose specimens are found in India, has not yet been definitely proved to be of foreign origin.

To find out, however, whether there was any foreign influence on the earliest metallic currency of India, we must discuss the question: to what earliest period the art of coin-making in India is traceable. The question can be satisfactorily answered only by ransacking our literature, sacred and profane, Brāhmanical and Buddhist, and finding out what classes of coins were prevalent at different periods before 400 B. C. which is the earliest date assigned by Rapson to the Kārṣāpaṇas.

Now, if we take up Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which is useful not

only for the study of Sanskrit grammar but also for constructing the social, religious and economic history of India, we find that, in *adhyāya* V and *pāda* 1, he mentions certain affixes which have the sense of *tena krītam*, i.e. 'purchased with this price' and *tad=arhati*, i.e. 'which deserves that'. You can at once perceive that here is a section which must throw some light on the economic condition of India in Pāṇini's time and the various media of exchange then prevalent. And, as a matter of fact, this natural expectation is more than fully realised through a study of these *Sūtras*. We are not, however, here concerned with a detailed specification of these media of exchange. Our present object is merely to ascertain whether there are any references to the use of coins in Pāṇini's work, and if so, what kinds are mentioned. And somewhat startling as it may appear, we notice that Pāṇini refers to at least seven kinds of coins. Not only does he speak of the Kārṣāpaṇas, but also of Niṣkas, Śatamānas and so forth. Pāṇini, as I have repeatedly told you, has to be assigned to the middle of the 6th century B.C. at the latest. And if seven different types of metallic currency were prevalent in India about 550 B.C., the beginning of the art of coin-making in this country must be placed earlier than 700 B.C.

But I can very well imagine some sense of doubt crossing your mind. I have no doubt said that Pāṇini flourished about 550 B.C. Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar would place him even earlier. But as I have told you in my last lecture, this view is not shared by the European scholars in general. The argument about the antiquity of Indian coinage, which may be based upon the study of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, as I have done just now, will, I am afraid, not carry conviction to them as they drag Pāṇini down to 350 B.C. We must, therefore, base our argument on that section of Indian literature, about the early date of which there is a general consensus of opinion among European scholars. And what other works can present

themselves to our mind in this connection than the Jātakas or Buddha's birth stories which form an important part of Buddhist literature ? The Jātaka stories may not perhaps constitute the earliest class of this literature ; but certain it is that they represent a social and political condition prior to the rise of Buddhism and belonging to the sixth or even seventh century B.C. This is the opinion not of Indian antiquarians, but of European scholars, such as Bühler and Rhys Davids.[11] Let us, therefore, see what the Jātaka tales teach us on this point, i. e. whether they speak of any class or classes of coins which were current in India at the early period.

Now, any one who carefully studies Pāṇini's *Sūtras* and the Jātaka stories cannot but be impressed by the fact that both depict ancient India of practically the same period. It is not, therefore surprising if we find the same classes of coins referred to in both. But Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, just because it consists of aphorisms, cannot be expected to throw much light on this subject beyond the mere mention of the denominations of coins. The case is, however, different in regard to the Buddhist Jātakas. As they portray social and economic India of the 7th century B. C., it is here that we can clearly see what part, insignificant or important, stamped metallic currency played in the manifold transactions of the people at that early period. Let us, in the first place, see whether there was any gold currency in India at that time. Of course, as India was the land of gold in those days at least, we must

11 Bühler (*IS*, Vol. III, pp. 16ff.) refers the Pali Buddhist Canon 'to the fifth and possibly to the sixth century B. C.' ; and as he says that the Jātaka stories are loans from 'the old pre-Buddhistic national tradition of India' and that the state of civilisation described in them 'is in various respects primitive', the life portrayed in them must be assigned to the seventh, at the latest to the sixth, century B.C. For Rhys Davids' views, see *Buddhist India*, 207-08. [The Jātakas are placed by Winternitz between the 3rd century B.C. and the 6th century A.D. (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 156).—Ed.]

naturally expect some sort of gold coinage to have been then prevalent. And we certainly find that our expectations are not unfounded. For we read at least of three classes of gold coinage in the Jātaka literature. And as gold is the most precious metal of which coins can be manufactured, it is only in connection with hoards of money, munificent gifts and so forth that we find gold coins mentioned. Thus the *Kuhaka Jātaka*[12] gives us an amusing story of a scamp of an ascetic who goes to a village and lives in a hermitage built by a local *kuṭumbika* or farmer. Taking the ascetic to be a model of goodness, the farmer brings his hundred Niṣkas of gold to the hermitage and there buries them. Confiding in the pious protestations of the hermit, the farmer goes off; but the former covertly removes the gold and buries it in the way side. The very next day the ascetic takes leave of the farmer, but returns shortly after to return a straw from the farmer's roof which has stuck in his matted hair, but which does not belong to him. This over-manifestation of moral sensitiveness arouses the suspicion of a shrewd trader who has halted on the outskirts of the village and who forthwith sees the farmer and warns him. Away they hasten in hot pursuit, catch the rascal, and kick and cuff him till he shows to them where he hid the gold. The trader, who is the Bodhisattva of this story, rebukes the ascetic, saying: "So a hundred Niṣkas did not trouble your conscience so much as that straw." Here then a specific class of coins—gold coins—is mentioned, viz., Niṣkas, for the valuation of a rich farmer's hoarding. Only two references to Niṣkas may be given out of the many which I was able to trace in the Jātakas. Some of you are pretty well conversant with the *Vessantara Jātaka*, which, among other things, tells us how Vessantara, king of Śibi, who had retired to a forest, gives over his son

12 *Jāt.*, Vol. I, pp. 375ff.

and daughter completely to a Brāhmaṇa called Jūjaka.[13] Of course, the children are reluctant to go, and he comforts them by saying : "Son Jāli, if you wish to become free, you must pay the Brāhmaṇa a thousand Niṣkas. But your sister is very beautiful ; if any person of low birth should give the Brāhmaṇa so-and-so much to make her free, he would break her birth-right. None but a king can give all things by the hundred ; therefore if your sister would be free, let her pay the Brāhmaṇa a hundred male and a hundred female slaves together with elephants, horses, bulls and Niṣkas, all a hundred each." Thus did he price the children and comfort them, and taking water in his waterpot he poured it out, giving the Brāhmaṇa this precious gift of his children. Here we have a father before us, putting a price upon his children ; and as the latter are of the royal blood, naturally this price has to be the heaviest, and the coins to appraise it must necessarily be of the highest value. The Niṣkas here specified must, therefore, represent the highest order of gold coins. We now turn to a third Jātaka, the Great Being of which story is a snake-king called Campeyya who allows himself to be caught by a snake-charmer for his good. By making the snake perform to the crowd of a frontier village the snake-charmer earns as much as one thousand Kārṣāpaṇas in one single day.[14] Desire of further gain impels him to go to the capital-town, Vārāṇasī. While the performance to the local king is going on, the wife of the snake-king suddenly makes her appearance and offer a handsome ransom, one of the numerous items of which is one hundred Niṣkas.[15] In this Jātaka, we find two classes of coins specified, viz. the Kārṣāpaṇa and Niṣka. The first evidently is the silver and the second the gold money of the country of Kāśi.

13 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 546, line 28 ; p. 547, line 6.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 458, line 6.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 460, line 28 ; p. 461, lines 7 and 10.

It is, however, a mistake to suppose that Niṣkas were the only class of gold coins known to the Jātaka literature. Not unfrequently we meet with an expression in which the words *hiraṇya* and *suvarṇa* are associated together. Thus the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* gives us another tale of a snake-king tamed by a snake-charmer who amassed a fortune by making him assume various appearances and exhibit dancing powers. At the very first performance that he gave in a village, the people, we are told, were so pleased that they heaped on him *hiraṇya, suvarṇa, vastra, alaṅkāra* and the like.[16] Of course, *vastra* and *alaṅkāra* mean 'garments' and 'ornaments' respectively. But what about *hiraṇya* and *suvarṇa*? Since both signify 'gold', one of the two words becomes superfluous. On the other hand, *suvarṇa* denotes a specific kind of gold coins, which the other word, viz. *hiraṇya*, does not. It is true that Suvarṇa denotes a certain weight as well as a gold coin of this weight, and it is no doubt possible to suppose that in this particular Jātaka story, the word *suvarṇa* means merely gold bullion of this weight. But according to this supposition, *suvarṇa*, like the other word, viz. *hiraṇya*, would signify gold only, and thus there remains no distinction between the two. Are we not therefore compelled to infer that *suvarṇa* in this as in other places where it is associated with *hirayṇa* must stand not for 'gold', but a 'type of gold coins'? But this is not all. For in the Jātaka literature, we read of gold coins of a still smaller denomination. I have been able to trace at least two references to a type of gold coins called Suvarṇa-Māṣaka. Thus in the *Udaya Jātaka*, we are

16 *Ibid.*, VI. 186.3. The phrase *hiraññа-suvaṇṇa* occurs also in *Jāt.*, VI. 69. 18, which is translated as 'gold and coin' by Cowell and Rouse (trans., p. 38). The same phrase is met with in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (ed. Shama Sastri, p. 243) also, but in its Sanskrit form, and is rendered by Shama Sastri as 'bar gold and coined gold' (trans., p. 305). Compare also *JRAS*, 1901, p. 879. [In Lecture III below, reference is made to 'forty crores of *hirañña* or gold pieces' mentioned in the *Babbu Jātaka*.—Ed.]

introduced to Udayabhadra and Udayabhadrā, who are brother and sister and yet become husband and wife. They are the king and queen of the Kāśi kingdom. Udayabhadra dies, and becomes Śakra in the Heaven of the Thirty-three (*Tāvatiṁsa-bhavana*). And he comes to the mortal world one day to tempt his former wife with riches, by, we are told, lavishing encomium on her beauty and holding before her a golden dish replete with Suvarṇa-Māṣakas.[17] Again, in the *Śaṅkhapāla Jātaka,* we have a third instance of a snake-king being captured, this time, however, by a party of sixteen men. A rich landowner, who happens to pass that way, sees the Bodhisattva in great agony, and, struck with compassion, releases him by making handsome gifts to those lewd fellows, amongst which prominent mention is made of Suvarṇa-Māṣakas.[18] But what is a Suvarṇa-Māṣaka, you may naturally ask me here ? I may have something to tell you about it in my next lectures ; but here it will be sufficient to state that *māṣa* is a unit in the weight system of Indian coinage which differs in weight according as the coin is of gold, silver or copper. And while, as a rule, *māṣa* denotes the weight, Māṣaka denotes a coin of this weight.* A Suvarṇa-Māṣaka is, therefore, a gold coin which is equal to one *māṣa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage. And in the first of the two instances here quoted we have seen that Udayabhadra holds in front of his wife a plate filled with Suvarṇa-Māṣakas, which, just because we are not told how many they were, cannot denote pieces of gold bullion, but gold coins only,—such as were ready at hand and could be got hold of at any time for waving them round a person. As the plate is said to have been filled with Suvarṇa-Māṣakas, it follows that they were all distinct pieces, so that each one of them could be

17 *Jat.*, Vol. IV, P. 106, line 1 ; p. 107, line 17.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 164, lines 15-16.

* [Such a distinction may not be quite correct.—Ed.]

called a Suvarṇa-Māṣaka, and that each piece weighed one *māṣa*. And are we to suppose that, in this instance, gold bullion was so adroitly chopped off, and just on the spur of the moment, that every bit weighed exactly one *māṣa* and could thus be a separate piece by itself ? This is simply absurd. We thus perceive that, in ancient India of the sixth or perhaps of the seventh century B.C., no less than three types of gold coins were current. Of the lowest value was the Māṣaka, of a higher denomination was the Suvarṇa, and of a still higher denomination, the Niṣka.

There was yet another class of coins which is frequently referred to in the Jātaka stories. I mean the Kārṣāpaṇa about which most of you must have already heard. I do not wish to say much here about this type as the whole of my next lecture will be devoted to this subject. The Kārṣāpaṇa, as we read of it in the Jātaka literature, was of three varieties according as it was of gold, silver and copper. Gold Kārṣāpaṇa, however, is seldom referred to, and the common types of Kārṣāpaṇa that we hear of are either silver or copper. How extensive and deep the circulation of this type of money was in all the strata of the society of the seventh century B.C. is clear even from a cursory study of the Jātaka tales ; but this we shall see in the next lecture.

I am afraid we cannot stop here, but must proceed further to find out whether there are any references to metallic currency in literature of a still earlier date than that of the Jātakas. You must have already guessed that it is the Vedic literature that I am here alluding to. No doubt, even here there is perceptible the tendency of some European scholars to drag down the various compositions of this literature to as late a period as possible. But even then it must be admitted that they have not been able to place them later than the age represented by the Jātakas. If we can, therefore, trace any mention of coined money in the Vedic literature, we can conclu-

sively say that the use of this money was known to India long long prior to 600 or 700 B.C. Let us therefore see whether the works comprising this literature make mention of metallic currency. Some of you probably know that Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra* contains a reference to a coin called Śatamāna. It is curious that there is no mention of this class of coins anywhere in the Buddhist works, though the name occurs in a *Sūtra*[19] of Pāṇini and a *Vārttika*[20] of Kātyāyana, showing clearly that Śatamāna was known till the Maurya period. The *Śrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana, in the chapter entitled the *Rājasūya-nirūpaṇam*, refers to the Śatamāna coin in three consecutive *Sūtras*.[21] But this *Śrautasūtra* probably is of the same period as the Jātakas, and it may consequently be argued that it does not take us anterior to the time we have reached on the strength of the Buddhist Birth Stories. We must, therefore, go to Vedic compositions which are prior in date to the *Sūtra*. The class of writings, which are of an immediately prior period to the *Śrautasūtras* are, of course, the Upaniṣads. The only coin name that we meet with in these works is Niṣka which occurs thrice in the *Chāndogya*.[22] But if we correctly interpret the passages of this Upaniṣad, the word Niṣka in them must be taken to signify 'a necklace' and not 'a coin'. We know that even in Classical Sanskrit literature this word had both these senses. And as, in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the term *niṣka* has been used in the sense of a 'necklace' only, it cannot serve our object. But if the Upaniṣads are not thus of any use to us, the Brāhmaṇas, which are predecessors to the Upaniṣads, can be profitably brought into requisition in this connection. Of this class of composition, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is perhaps the best known to us, as both a well-edited text and a critical transla-

19 V. 1. 27.
20 On Pāṇini, V. 1. 29.
21 XV. 181-83.
22 IV. 2. 1-3.

tion are available. We will therefore, confine our main attention to this Brāhmaṇa. Now, in the Kāṇḍa dealing with the *Rājasūya*, we have a section which treats of the *Ratha-vimocanīya* oblations. And in connection therewith, we are told that, behind the right hind-wheel of the cart-stand, the king fastens two round Śatamānas, which he has afterwards to give to the Brāhmaṇa priests as fees for this ceremony.[23] Again, in another place the same Brāhmaṇa has the following: "Three Śatamānas are the sacrificial fee for this [offering]. He presents them to the Brāhmaṇa: for the Brāhmaṇa neither performs [like the Adhvaryu], nor chants [like the Udgātṛ], nor recites [like the Hotṛ], and yet he is an object of respect: therefore he presents to the Brāhmaṇa three Śatamānas."[24] Of course, Sāyaṇa, in this and the preceding passage, takes Śatamāna to denote 'a round plate'; but the case is not unlike that of Nāgojibhaṭṭa who, while commenting on the celebrated passage from the *Mahābhāṣya* referred to in my last lecture,* interprets 'Mauryas' as idol-makers. But just as no scholar will now understand 'Mauryas' to mean idol-manufacturers but take them to denote the Maurya princes only, no one can similarly explain the term Śatamāna in the way in which Sāyaṇa had done, but he must interpret it to denote the Śatamāna coin alone. Śatamāna may, however, have been one hundred *mānas* or *guñjā* berries in weight** as explained by Sāyaṇa and accepted by Eggeling; but as it is spoken of as *vṛtta* or round in shape in the first of the two instances just adduced, it must stand for coined money and not mere bullion weighing one hundred *guñjās*. I will quote two more passages from the *Śata-*

23 V. 4. 3. 34 and 26.

24 V. 5. 5. 16.

* [The reference may be to the Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian History delivered in 1918; see also the commentary on Pāṇini's *Sūtra*, V. 3.99.—Ed.]

** [The Śatamāna really weighed 320 *guñjā* berries.—Ed.]

patha Brāhmaṇa, because in them another class of coins have been mentioned side by side with Śatamāna. The first passage is : *Suvarṇaṁ hiraṇyaṁ bhavati rūpasy = ev = avaruddhyai Śatamānaṁ bhavati śat-āyur = vai puruṣaḥ.*[25] The second is : *hiraṇyaṁ dakṣiṇā Suvarṇaṁ Śatamānaṁ tasy = oktam.*[26] It will be seen that here Suvarṇa is associated with Śatamāna, and both are called *hiraṇya* or gold. As Suvarṇa is thus distinguished from *hiraṇya*, it must, like Śatamāna, denote a coin, and not simply 'gold' as has been wrongly understood by Eggeling in his translation of this Brāhmaṇa. Two passages of similar import are noticeable also in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, which specify the reason why Śatamāna is given as a sacrificial fee. Here I shall cite one only, viz. *Śatamānaṁ bhavati śat-āyuḥ puruṣaḥ śat-endriyaḥ āyuṣy = ev = endriye pratitiṣṭhati.*[27] Nay, the very same passage is traceable in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*,[28] which, you are all aware, forms the Saṁhitā text of the *Black Yajurveda*. This means that the Śatamāna type of coin was known to Aryan India not only in the Brāhmaṇa, but also in the Saṁhitā period.

The fourteenth or concluding Kāṇḍa of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[29] gives us a story about Janaka, king of Videha. He had celebrated a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon the Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañcāla country. A curiosity sprang up in his mind as to who was the best-read of the Brāhmaṇas. He collected a thousand kine, and we are told that to every single horn of each cow were tied ten *pādas*, and it was proclaimed that they should be taken away by him alone who is best cognisant with *brahman*. The story further

25 XII. 7. 2. 13.

26 XIII. 2. 3. 2.

27 I. 7. 6. 2; I. 2. 7. 7.

28 III. 2. 6. 3 ; II. 3. 11. 5.

29 The same story is repeated in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, III. 1. 1 ff.

goes, as some of you here probably know, that Yājñavalkya alone had the indomitable courage of claiming them. But we are not concerned with that part of the story. What we are here concerned with is to know what those *pādas* were, ten of which were fastened to each horn of the cows. It has been suggested by Bohtlingk and Roth, and accepted by Rhys Davids,[30] that the word *pāda* here denotes the fourth part of a certain gold weight, but not a coin. Are we then to suppose that as the cows that were brought were one thousand in number, as each cow has two horns and as each horn carried ten *pādas*, king Janaka ordered 20,000 pieces of gold to be hammered out, each again weighing just one-fourth of a certain weight,—all this just on the spur of the moment when the idea of testing the erudition of the Brāhmaṇas occurred to him ?[31] I am afraid this idea would be too ridiculous for any scholar to entertain seriously in his mind. On the other hand, Pāda is known to be the name of a coin and has been referred to in one of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*[32] and also in an inscription of the tenth century A.D.[33] Of course, it must have denoted a coin which in value was one-fourth of that coin which was the standard money, just as the modern denomination *pāvlā* or *pāvli*, which is derived from the word *pāda*, denotes four Annas, i.e. exactly one-fourth of the standard coin, viz. the Rupee. Only if *pāda* is taken to stand for a coin, it is easy to understand that Janaka could at any moment get hold of 20,000 such coins from his treasury for being tied to the horns of the cows.

There is another class of coins referred to in the Brāh-

30 *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 3, note 2.

31 Even if we suppose that to each horn of a cow was fastened gold weighing ten *pādas*, we have to assume that Janaka on the spur of the moment had 2000 pieces of gold hammered out, each conforming to that weight—which also is absurd enough.

32 V. 1. 34.

33 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 173, line 23 ; p. 178, line 11.

manaṇs,—I mean Kṛṣṇala. Thus the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has the following passage : *Kṛṣṇalaṁ Kṛṣṇalaṁ Vājasṛdbhyaḥ prayacchati*,[34] i.e. he gives a Kṛṣṇala to each racer. Kṛṣṇala, we know, denotes the well-known *raktikā* or *guñjā* berry, and what Kṛṣṇala here means is a coin, possibly of gold, weighing one *guñjā* berry. This receives confirmation from the fact that the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* makes mention of *hiraṇya* Kṛṣṇala,[35] i.e. the gold coin Kṛṣṇala. Kṛṣṇala certainly continued to be known as a coin as late as the time of Manu.[36] Thus in Chapter VIII, e.g., he ordains that a hired servant or workman, who, without being ill, out of pride fails to perform his work according to the agreement, shall be fined eight Kṛṣṇalas.

It is well-known that the names of coins are also the names of metal weights. Thus not only are Niṣka, Suvarṇa, etc., the names of particular classes of coins, but they are also the names of the weights according to which metals are weighed. In most of the instances here adduced, there can be no doubt that they are the names of coins ; but in the case of a few of them, some of you will, I am sure, think that the names specified may be the names of weights and not of coins. Thus in the instances of Niṣkas from the Jātakas and of Kṛṣṇalas which I have cited above, it may possibly be contended that it is not very satisfactorily demonstrated that they are coins, and not the weights according to which metal bullion was weighed and passed for money. Up till the advent of the British administration the practice in Burma, e.g., was to carry lumps of metal as currency and chop off the required weight from the lump and tender the chip in exchange for the article wanted.[37] And it is quite possible to imagine that in the instances just referred to, gold bullion equal to one Niṣka or Kṛṣṇala in

34 I. 3. 6. 7.

35 XI. 4.

36 VIII. 215 and 330 ; IX. 84 ; XI. 137.

37 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 160.

weight is what is meant, and not necessarily a coin of that denomination. It is, however, to be noted that in Burma there were only two denominations of weight. The smaller, according to which bullion was paid in Burma as money, was the Tickal which was almost invariably mentioned in computing money, the other and higher denomination being Viss which equalled one hundred Tickals, but which was seldom used.[38] What is again noteworthy is that Tickal and Viss were employed in weighing not only money, but also goods. In India, on the other hand, there were at least six denominations in the Jātaka and earlier periods, and they were used invariably to denote the weights of metal or money, but never of goods. It is again inconceivable that six different denominations could be employed in one and the same country for paying money by weight. For, if money is to be paid by weight at all, one or two denominations are quite enough. The natural conclusion is that they all denoted not simply money weights, but also denominations of coins. And even if we exclude Niṣka and Kṛṣṇala, I have clearly shown that all the other names could be of coins only in the instances adduced above. And it is, therefore, most unnatural to suppose that Niṣka and Kṛṣṇala alone denoted money weights, when Suvarṇa, Śatamāna, Māṣaka and Kārṣāpaṇa were all coins.

But what about Niṣka in the Vedic period ?—you are sure to interrogate me here. We see that in this period three types of gold coins were known, viz., Suvarṇa, Śatamāna and Kṛṣṇala. We hear about them also in the post-Vedic period, up to at least the decline and fall of the Gupta empire. But then in this later period, we read about the Niṣka coins also. Were they, however, known in the earlier or Vedic period, and, if so, how far earlier in this period can they be traced ? This is the question that will now present itself to you. I may

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 204-05.

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1 APR 1974

at once tell you that mention has been made of Niṣkas both in the Brāhmaṇa and Saṁhitā sections of the Vedic literature. I suppose, some of you are acquainted with the story mentioned about Uddālaka Āruṇi in the *Śatapatha*[39] and *Gopatha*[40] *Brāhmaṇas*. Uddālaka Āruṇi, we are told, was driving about, as a chosen offering-priest, among the people of the northern country. By him a Niṣka was offered to call out the timid to a disputation. Fear seized the Brāhmaṇas of the northern country, who elected Svaidāyana Śaunaka as their champion. And a fierce wrangling arose in which, however, Svaidāyana Śaunaka had the better of Uddālaka Āruṇi, who gave up to him the Niṣka, saying, "Thou art learned, Svaidāyana ; and, verily, gold is given unto him who knows gold."

Let us now try to find out whether there are any references to Niṣka in the pre-Brāhmaṇa strata of the Vedic compositions. But here it is necessary to repeat the remark which I made sometime ago. Niṣka, I then told you, is used in two senses. It signifies 'a coin' and also 'a necklace'. Many are the passages in which the word *niṣka* is employed in the sense of 'a necklace' ; but passages are not wanting in which the other signification of the word occurs. Thus in the *Atharvaveda*, Niṣka, denoting a coin, is found at least in one place. There is a passage in this Veda,[41] where Kaurama, the liberal king of the Ruṣamas, bestows upon a Ṛṣi, along with other things, a hundred Niṣkas, which can here mean Niṣka coins only, and not necklaces, because it was customary to present one necklace only to a priest and because a hundred necklaces could not be intended for the personal ornamentation of a single individual, viz., the priest. Similarly, in the first Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda*, we have a hymn in which the poet-priest

39 XI. 4. 1. 1 and 8.
40 I. 3. 6.
41 XX. 127. 3.

Kākṣīvat praises the munificence of his patron, king Bhāvayavya, thus :

Śataṁ rājño nādhamānasya niṣkāñ=
chatān prayatānt sadya ādam (I. 126.2).

"A hundred Niṣkas from the king, beseeching, a hundred gift-steeds I at once accepted."

In regard to this passage, the authors of the *Vedic Index*[42] rightly say that 'as early as the *Ṛgveda* traces are seen of the use of Niṣkas as a sort of currency, for a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred Niṣkas and a hundred steeds : he could hardly require the Niṣkas merely for purposes of personal adornment'. In justice to Edward Thomas, it must be said that it was he who first drew attention to this among other passages to prove the existence of metallic currency in the Ṛgvedic times.[43] His other passages, however were by no means reliable, because some were misinterpreted and others were made to prove far more than was logically warranted. It is for this reason that the single passage which I have just quoted, but which was first pointed out by him, does not seem to have arrested the attention of scholars.

But here a question arises : what was the kind of metallic currency represented by the Niṣkas in the Ṛgvedic times ? Were they coined money or unstamped bullion currency ? Let us see whether we can settle this point more precisely. Just a short while ago, I told you that, as in Classical, so in Vedic Sanskrit, the word *niṣka* is used also in the sense of 'a necklace'. 'Vedic Sanskrit' must, of course, include the *Ṛk Saṁhitā*. From this Saṁhitā, I have already quoted a verse in which *niṣka* occurs in the sense at least of 'metallic currency'. If any instance of the other sense from this source is required, it is supplied by Hymn 33 of Maṇḍala II of the *Ṛgveda*. The line in question is :

42 Vol. I, pp. 454-55.

43 *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 34.

arhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhanv=
*ārhan niṣkaṁ yajatam viśvarūpam.**

Here the god Rudra, to whom this hymn is addressed, is described as wearing a *niṣka* or golden chain or necklace. But be it noted that this *niṣka* is called *viśva-rūpa*. What can *viśva-rūpa* mean ? Does it signify 'omniform' ? If so, what is meant by saying that Rudra's necklace was omniform ? I am afraid this does not convey any good sense, and we must try to find out what could be the natural and proper sense of this term ? Before, however, we can hope to arrive, at any rate, at a plausible solution, we must consider the question : how could the word *niṣka* come to signify both 'a currency' and a 'necklace' ? Was there in the nature of things anything common which could make any one of these senses yield the other. A little reflection will tell you that this is possible only if we suppose that Niṣka means not simply 'a currency' but 'a coin', and that it denoted a necklace because it consisted of Niṣkas, i.e. coins. The practice of making necklaces out of coins is prevalent almost all over India, and is by no means unknown, I am told, even in Bengal. In Maharashtra, I know, the poorer classes get a goldsmith to cast gold coins in imitation of certain Byzantine originals which they call *putalyā*, which are afterwards strung into 'a necklace which also is called *putalyā*. If such is the case to this day in Maharashtra, we can easily understand how 'a gold coin' and 'a necklace' can both be called *niṣka*. The practice of fastening coins into a necklace can by no means be regarded as a feature of modern India only, but was actually in vogue in ancient times also. Thus the Jaina cannonical work entitled *Kalpasūtra*,[44] while describing Śrī, the goddess of beauty, whom Triśalā, mother of Mahāvīra, saw in her

* [II. 33.10.—Ed.]

44 See p. 44; *SBE*, XXII. 233. An inscription at Srikurmam, dated 1240 Śaka, speaks of a necklace consisting of seven gold Niṣka coins themselves (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 37).

dream, speaks of the former as bearing *urattha-dīnāra-mālayā*, i.e., a string of Dīnāras on her breast. Now, Dīnāra, as most of you are aware, is an Indian gold coin adopted from the Roman Denarius during the Kuṣāṇa rule in the first century A.D. And here we are told that a *mālā* or necklace was made of these gold coins and adorned the breast of the goddess Śrī. The custom of stringing coins into a necklace is thus not of modern origin, but was prevalent in ancient India also. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to say that 'a necklace' was called *niṣka*, because it was made of coins called *niṣkas*. Niṣka must, therefore, be taken in the sense of 'a coin' and not merely of 'a mettallic currency'. If this natural explanation is not accepted, I ask, how are you going to interpret the word *viśva-rūpa* occurring in the hymn referred to above ?—how can you explain satisfactorily the god Rudra's wearing a necklace that was *viśva-rūpa* ? A good sense of the term *viśva-rūpa* it is possible to fix upon, only if we admit that *niṣka* means a necklace, originally at any rate, consisting of Niṣka coins. The *rūpa* in *viśva-rūpa* can at once be recognised to be a word technical to the old Indian science of numismatics and denoting the symbol or figure on a coin which for that reason is styled *rūpya*. The term is met with in this technical sense not only in the early Brāhmaṇical, but also in the Buddhist literature. We shall come to know more about it in the fourth lecture of this series. But suffice it to state here that *rūpa* signifies a symbol or figure on a coin, and this enables us at once to perceive the significance of *viśva-rūpa*. What the seer, or rather the composer of the hymn, means is that the necklace worn by the deity Rudra was composed of Niṣka co ns, and that just because these coins bore various *rūpas* or figures on them, the necklace was naturally *viśva-rūpa*. The earliest coins found in India are the punch-marked issues, and we know that no less than three hundred different devices or *rūpas* have been marked on them. No wonder if the necklace of Rudra which was

made of Niṣka coins is described as *viśva-rūpa*, i.e., covered with manifold *rūpas* or figures.[45] This seems to be the most natural and reasonable interpretation of the phrase *viśva-rūpa* which qualifies the term *niṣka* in the sense of the 'necklace.' And this is additional evidence to show that Niṣkas were coined money and not merely metallic currency. In fact, unstamped metallic currency also was not unknown in the Ṛgvedic period, and is distinguished from the Niṣkas by a distinct phraseology. Thus Maṇḍala VI contains a hymn,[46] which is a panegyric of the king Divodās, son of Śṛñjaya, by the Ṛṣi Garga. In this hymn there is one Ṛk which enumerates the gifts bestowed by this king on the poet-priest. And among these mention is made of *daśa hiraṇya-piṇḍas* which the Ṛṣi received. Now, what does *hiraṇya-piṇḍa* mean here ? As these *hiraṇya-piṇḍas* have been specifically mentioned as ten, it appears that each *hiraṇya-piṇḍa* conformed to a definite recognised value. And as the word *piṇḍa* shows, it was bullion beaten into somewhat definite, i.e., probably roundish, shape. The *hiraṇya-piṇḍas*, which the seer Garga received, appear, therefore, to be buttons of gold which passed as unstamped money in the Ṛgvedic period. Of course, there is nothing strange in both stamped and unstamped money circulating in one and the same period. Not many years ago, as you will r collect, the Dhābuās, which were unstamped copper coins, circulated freely in Bengal along with stamped coinage of various denominations. We need not, therefore, be surprised

45 This is exactly the interpretation put upon the phrase by E. Thomas who rightly also draws our attention to *lakṣaṇ-āhataṁ Dīnāra-dvayam* occurring in Northern Sanskrit Buddhist texts (*op. cit.*, pp. 35-36). [The prevalence of gold punch-marked coins in several varieties from such an early date is highly improbable in view of the fact that not a single such coin has been found among the gold objects unearthed in ancient sites. Indian money of the Vedic age may have been metallic weights used as coin. —Ed.

46 VI. 47. 23. [Correctly, Divodāsa son of Vadhryaśva.—Ed.]

if we find from the *Ṛgveda* that both *hiraṇya-piṇḍas* and Niṣkas, i.e., unstamped and stamped money, were current at one and the same time.

Now, what is the upshot of the whole discussion ? We find that not only Pāṇini's *Sūtras* or Buddhist Birth Stories, but all sections of the Vedic literature contain undoubted references to the different classes of coins. Thus the coins called Kṛṣṇalas, Suvarṇas, Śatamānas and Niṣkas have been mentioned not only in the Brāhmaṇa, but also in the Saṁhitā portions of the Vedas. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the art of coining was known to India when the Vedic Aryans composed their hymns. I am aware that different scholars have propounded different theories in regard to the duration of the Vedic period, especially in regard to its initial point. Thus according to some of them, the Vedic period begins from 1200, according to some from 1500 and according to some again from 2000 B. C., all however agreeing that it terminates about 500 B.C. The 'Age of the Veda' was about eleven years ago subjected to a searching and exhaustive scrutiny by Winternitz, whose views have now-a-days to be accepted. "As a result of the investigations of the last ten years," says he, "it could be said that it is probable that in place of 500 B.C. will have to be substituted the date 800 B.C., and it is more probable that the initial date falls in the third rather than in the second millennium."[47] Thus, according to Winternitz, the Vedic period in all probability extends from 2500 to 800 B.C. If this is so, coined money must be considered to be

47 *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Pt. I, p. 258. [Cf. trans., Vol. I, p. 310—"We shall probably have to date the beginning of this development about 2000 or 2500 B.C. and the end of it between 750 and 500 B.C. The more prudent course, however, is to steer clear of any fixed dates, and to guard against the extremes of a stupendously ancient period or a ludicrously modern epoch." This was, however, written without taking the protohistoric Indus valley civilisation into account.—Ed.]

existing in India as early as the middle of the third millennium before Christ. Is it not therefore absurd to say, as Kennedy and Smith have done, that India did not know of any coined money before 400 or 700 B. C.? What is strange is that they have expressed this sweeping view even when they had E. Thomas' book before them and especially the passage from the *Ṛgveda* quoted above. This, I believe, has to be attributed to the tendency of some European scholars to regard everything Indian that is good or original as having been adopted from the foreigners and as being of a comparatively late date. This tendency, I am afraid, even a savant like Max Müller was not able to shake off from his mind. Last year while lecturing on the ancient alphabet of India I had occasion to show how far he had exhibited it. This year it is my misfortune to point out how far he has manifested it in regard to the subject we have been considering here to-night. Max Müller emphatically maintains that 'the Hindus derived their knowledge of coined money from foreign nations'.[48] But then what becomes of the word Niṣka which occurs in the sense of a gold coin and which was certainly known to him, he being a pre-eminent Vedic scholar? This is what he says: "Nothing seems to be more likely than that it should be derived from Kaniṣka, the Sanskrit name of Kanerki, as we speak of a 'Sovereign', the French of a 'Louis'. The first syllable *ka* may be taken as the usual royal prefix, particularly as Fa-hian calls the same king Kanika and Nika. Yet nobody would draw from this the conclusion that the Veda was written after the time of Kaniṣka. If Niṣka be really derived from Ka-Niṣka, Kaniṣka must have been the name or title of more ancient kings, whose money became known in India." In other words, what Max Müller means is that there must have been foreign kings of the name or title of Kaniṣka before the Veda was

48 *HASL*, pp. 331-32 (p. 332, note).

written. And why this preposterous supposition ? Because the word *niṣka* in the sense of 'a coin' occurs in the *Ṛgveda*, and certainly the Hindus derived their knowledge of coined money from the foreign nations. In justice to Max Müller, it must be said that he does admit that 'Niṣka may have a very different etymology' to the one that he has proposed. But he makes this remark so incidentally and covertly as to make very little impression on the mind of the student who reads his view about the derivation of Niṣka from Kaniṣka, and it leaves absolutely no doubt in the mind of an impartial and dispassionate scholar as to the kind of bias which has impelled Max Müller to his view. A far better judicial frame of mind has been displayed by E. Thomas, who traces the Sanskrit word *niṣka* to the Semitic root *miskāl*, 'to be weighed'; but he admits that the Aryans of India "do not appear to have imported or had any knowledge of the Hebrew *shekel* of 220 grains. So that the integrity of the Indian system of weights remains altogether unaffected."[49]

I am aware that it is possible to suggest any number of etymological explanations for the word *niṣka* ; e.g., the authors of the *Śabdakalpadruma* and the *Vācaspatya* derive it from the root *nis+kai*, thus *niścayena kāyati śobhata=iti*. But such etymologies, I am afraid, are anything but convincing. For we know that names of coins are names of weights. No derivation of the word *niṣka* can therefore be acceptable to us except that from a root which means 'to weigh'. E. Thomas' proposal connecting it with the Semitic root signifying 'to be weighed' has thus apparently something in it to commend itself to us, especially as *miscal* is also the name of a weight in Persia. But this Miscal is equal to 72 grains of barley corn only, whereas a Niṣka weighs 960 such grains. Whether, therefore, it is permissible to equate Niṣka with Miscal is very

49 *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

doubtful. And even if we trace the Sanskrit word to the Semitic root, we must bear in mind that such a proposal can at best go to show that the Aryan and Semitic languages influenced each other—a conclusion that is in no way surprising. This cannot, however, be taken as evidence to show that the art of coin-making was imported into India from the Semitic country, because outside India no metallic currency is known to exist prior to 800 B.C. Besides, no Semitic word of an early period corresponding to *niṣka* in sound and denoting a weight like it is yet known. Hence Edward Thomas is right in saying that 'the integrity of the Indian system of weights remains altogether unaffected'.

But this is not all. The extreme antiquity of coinage is proved also from another source. The 'punch-marked coins' which are the earliest of the coins hereunto discovered in India point precisely to the same conclusion. But this matter may better be reserved for the next lecture wherein I am treating of the Kārṣāpaṇas.

LECTURE III

Kārṣāpaṇa : Its Nature and Antiquity

In my last lecture, I discussed the question of the antiquity of coinage in India. In connection with this discussion, I had to refer principally to certain classes of coins, such as the Niṣka, Śatamāna, Suvarṇa and so forth. And as these are gold coins, you may well ask now whether none but gold coinage was known in India up to the fifth century B. C. This is the first question that must suggest itself to us here. Again, if there were current in India during this early period coins of metal or metals other than gold, can we expect them also to throw some light on the question of the antiquity of coinage in India which we considered in the last lecture? This is the second question that must also occur to us. You will naturally expect me to tackle them both here.

Now, the first question that I am called upon to answer, as you have just seen, is whether there were any coins known in this early period which were of metal other than gold. Even in my last lecture, if you remember rightly, I had occasion to make mention of a class of coins called Kārṣāpaṇas, which is frequently referred to in the Jātaka literature, and far more frequently than the classes of gold coins, such as Niṣka, Suvarṇa and so on. The Jātaka stories, at any rate such of them as contain references to coin, give us the impression that this Kārṣāpaṇa was of three varieties, according as it was of gold, silver and copper. Gold Kārṣāpaṇa, however, appears to be seldom referred to, the common types being either silver or copper. The different divisions of this standard coin are Kārṣāpaṇa, Ardha-Kārṣāpaṇa, Pāda-Kārṣāpaṇa, Catur-Māṣaka, Tri-Māṣaka, Dvi-Māṣaka, Eka-Māṣaka, Ardha-Māṣaka and

Kākaṇikā. The values and weights of these coins will receive our full attention later on; but I have here specified the different tokens of this system in order to show how big the table for this money is. I shall now show you, in brief of course, how wide was the circulation of this money in the society depicted by the Jātaka tales. Thus the *Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa Jātaka* speaks of a king of Vārāṇasī who is noted for his wisdom and impartiality. While one day he is in the judgment hall, two cases come up for consideration in which one and the same individual, namely, Gāmaṇī Caṇḍa, is charged with having failed to return a pair of oxen which are stolen by thieves and with having caused a grievous hurt to a horse's leg. The king decides that Caṇḍa shall pay the price of each animal to its owner, that of the pair of oxen being twenty-four and of the horse one thousand Kārṣāpaṇas.[1] Of course, these must be silver Kārṣāpaṇas, as copper or gold Kārṣāpaṇas would be too low or too high a price to pay for those animals. Then another Jātaka gives us the story of a landed proprietor who loses his parcel of a thousand Kārṣāpaṇas which falls into the river he is crossing. The parcel is, however, swallowed by a big fish which is caught by a fisherman, and is sold for seven Māṣakas to the landed proprietor who is transported with joy to recover his money as his wife was dressing the fish.[2] These too must be silver Kārṣāpaṇas as the seven Māṣakas mentioned here as the price of the fish can be a copper token of silver money only.

Various and numerous are the details of everyday life portrayed in the Jātakas where we find the Kārṣāpaṇa and its small money playing an important part. Thus a professional assessor is paid eight Kārṣāpaṇas as his fee,[3] and a nice plump

1 *Jāt.*, Vol. II, p. 305, line 19 ; p. 306, lines 19-20.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 424, lines 19-20.
Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 138, lines 1, 7, 16-20.

dog is bought for one Kārṣāpaṇa.[4] A decent ass is had for eight Kārṣāpaṇas, and a fawn for one or two Kārṣāpaṇas only.[5] A bundle of grass, again, fetches one Māṣaka,[6] and for the same small coin can be had a jar of liquor.[7] A Māṣaka or Ardha-Māṣaka, again, is the daily wage of a coolie.[8] And a dead mouse is purchased for a single Kākaṇikā,[9] almost the lowest money piece of the day, to serve as food to a cat in a tavern, and so on and so on. In fact, whosoever reads these Jātakas carefully cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that silver Kārṣāpaṇa and its smaller tokens were intimately connected not only with the commercial life, but also the daily intercourse of the period to which these tales belong. Quite in keeping with this is the fact that in the early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coins is adduced, that of Kārṣāpaṇa being understood as is quite clear by its occasional mention.[10] Kārṣāpaṇa was, therefore, looked upon as the standard coin, and the coined money stored in royal treasuries is thus described as Kārṣāpaṇa.

Though, in the majority of the instances in which Kārṣāpaṇa is mentioned in the Jātaka literature, it can refer only to the silver coin, instances are not wanting in which copper and gold Kārṣāpaṇas can alone be understood to have been referred to. Thus to hire a carriage in Vārāṇasī by the hour cost 8 Kārṣāpaṇas. The same amount was considered to be a remuneration fit for a barber. Again, tailoring repairs well done, in a suburb of Vārāṇasī, brought in money at the rate of

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 247, line 2.
5 *JRAS*, 1901, p. 883.
6 *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 130, line 8.
7 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 350, line 11.
8 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 326, line 17.
9 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 120, line 20.
10 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 378, lines 13-15; Vol. VI, p. 97, lines 1-2, etc., etc.

1,000 pieces a day.[11] Similarly, a fisherwoman is fined eight Kārṣāpaṇas.[12] In these and a few more such instances, it is impossible to conceive Kārṣāpaṇa as being of any metal other than copper.

Gold Kārṣāpaṇas also were not unknown. I shall give only one reference. The *Babbu Jātaka* tells us of a merchant of the Kāśi country who, when he died, left behind a treasure of forty crores of *hirañña* or gold pieces.[13] His wife also died; but so strong was her love of money that she was re-born a mouse and dwelt over the treasure. She fell in love with a stone-cutter, so much so indeed, that she gave him at first one, but afterwards two or three Kārṣāpaṇas every day till by degrees she gave him the whole hoard. Here the treasure is stated to consist of forty crores of gold pieces which are afterwards referred to as Kārṣāpaṇas by giving which the hoard is said to have been exhausted. No doubt can be entertained as to Kārṣāpaṇa being here intended to denote a gold coin.

Nay, the practice of striking gold, silver and copper Kārṣāpaṇas was not confined to the Jātaka period only, but seems to have continued to at least the fifth century A. D., when the celebrated commentaries on the Pali Canon were written. The *Samantapāsādikā*, while explaining a verse from the *Pātimokkha*, says about Kārṣāpaṇa as follows : *tattha Kahāpaṇo ti : suvaṇṇamayo vā rūpiyamayo vā pakatiko vā*, "here Kārṣāpaṇa is either made of gold or that made of silver, or the ordinary one."[14] It will thus be seen that even so late as the fifth century A.D. when the commentary *Samantapāsādikā* was composed, Kārṣāpaṇa was known to be of three kinds, viz., of gold, silver and copper.

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11 *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 883–84.

12 *Jāt.*, Vol. I, p. 483, line 21.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 478, lines 7 and 16.

14 Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and note 3.

It may now be asked whether the conclusions we have so far drawn on the strength of Pali works receive any corroboration from Sanskrit literature. Those who have read Manu will be reminded of the verse : *kārṣāpaṇas=tu vijñeyas=tāmrikaḥ kārṣikaḥ paṇaḥ*.[15] Manu, it will be perceived, takes Kārṣāpaṇa to denote a *paṇa* of coined money which is *tāmrika*, i.e., made of copper and is *kārṣika*, i.e., one Karṣa in weight. Thus according to Manu, Kārṣāpaṇa is a copper coin only, and the question arises whether there are any Sanskrit works where Kārṣāpaṇa is mentioned as being also of gold and silver metals. Surely because Manu has said that Kārṣāpaṇa was copper money, it does not follow that this must have been so at all times and at all places. Nārada, quoted in the *Vācaspatya* under *karṣa*, regards Kārṣāpaṇa apparently as synonymous with Paṇa and remarks that in the south Kārṣāpaṇa was a silver coin. The same *Vācaspatya* again, under the word *Kārṣāpaṇa*, gives three quotations, one from Gautama, one from Kātyāyana and one from a work called *Saṭtriṁśat*, and conclusively shows that Kārṣāpaṇa is a synonym of Purāṇa which is known to be a silver coin only. Take also the *Amarakoṣa* which distinguishes between Kārṣāpaṇa and Paṇa. Both, we are told, are *kārṣika*, i.e., one Karṣa in weight ;[16] but Amarasiṁha speaks of Paṇa alone as *tāmrika*, i.e., made of copper, from which his commentators Kṣīrasvāmin and Rāmāśrami infer that Kārṣāpaṇa was a silver coin. If we, however, consider the statement of Amarasiṁha critically, a wider inference is permissible. All that this lexicographer implies is that Kārṣāpaṇa was not a copper coin. This may mean that it can be not only silver, but also gold money. This seems to me to be the natural inference to draw in the present case. It may, how-

15 VIII. 136. [The stanza may also mean that the silver Purāṇa or Dharaṇa was also called Kārṣāpaṇa, while the copper coin weighing one Karṣa was called Paṇa. Nārada really says that 16 Paṇas=1 Kārṣāpaṇa.—Ed.]

16 II. 9. 88. [Read—Rāmāśrama.—Ed.]

ever, be asked whether, as a matter of fact, there is any explicit mention of gold Kārṣāpaṇa made anywhere in Sanskrit literature though this inference is permissible from the *Amarakoṣa*. I may therefore draw your attention to the gloss of the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini's aphorism *jātarūpebhyaḥ parimāṇe*,[17] where two illustrations are given in verification of the *Sūtra*, viz., *hāṭako Niṣkaḥ hāṭakaṁ Kārṣāpaṇam*. Here the author of the *Kāśikā* speaks not only of Niṣka, but also of Kārṣāpaṇa as being *hāṭaka*, i.e., made of gold. No doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Kārṣāpaṇa being also a gold coin.

Now, what is the upshot of this whole discussion? We learn in the first place that the issue of Kārṣāpaṇa was not restricted to any particular metal and that there were Kārṣāpaṇas not only of copper, but also of silver and gold. In favour of this conclusion is the concurrent testimony of both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literature. Secondly, Kārṣāpaṇa appears to have been so called, because in weight it conformed to one Karṣa. We have got the authority of both Manu and Amarasiṁha in support of this position. Thirdly, one Sanskrit work entitled *Ṣaṭtriṁśat* leads to the inference that the silver money called Purāṇa was also known as Kārṣāpaṇa. Let us take these three points one by one and try to know about each something more. The first of these points, of course, is why there should be Kārṣāpaṇa of three different metals. If Kārṣāpaṇa was looked upon in those early days as the standard money, why should it have been struck in gold, silver and also copper? What could be the explanation of this strange fact? In this connection, I cannot do better than quote the words of Rapson who is one of the best authorities on the pre-Muhammadan numismatics of India. In his book on Andhra and Kṣatrapa coins, he ways: "We may gather both directly from the statements of the law-books, and more gene-

17 IV. 3. 153.

rally from the study of the coins, that in ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to the silver currency; but a copper standard prevailed in some districts just as a silver standard prevailed in others."[18] I will verify this statement here. When Wema Kadphises, the second Kuṣāṇa ruler, introduced gold coinage in the first century A. D., it continued to be the standard money in North India for a long time and practically supplanted the silver currency of the preceding dynasties. In Malwa, Kathiawar, Gujarat and Rajputana, on the other hand, where the Kṣatrapas exercised supremacy, the silver currency held the field. Both these gold and silver currencies were so firmly established as the standard money in these respective regions that when the Guptas succeeded these foreign dynasties in the sovereignty of India, they had to strike gold coins in the Kuṣāṇa dominions in imitation of the Kuṣāṇa gold coinage and silver coins in the Kṣatrapa provinces after the model of the Kṣatrapa silver coinage. This shows that the standard coin of one country was gold and of the other silver for a long time. On the other hand, Besnagar, the ancient Vidiśā, capital of eastern Malwa, tells us a different tale. Here I excavated in two consecutive cold seasons at a good many sites and of different periods; but from the pre-Mauryan down to the Gupta times no gold or silver coins were picked up except one solitary silver coin of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi, all the coins obtained being copper Kārṣāpaṇas and constituting the currency of the town. This is a clear instance, in my opinion, of copper coinage forming the standard money. There can, therefore, be no difficulty in taking Kārṣāpaṇa in any town or district to mean the standard coin whether of gold, silver or copper.

18 *Op. cit.*, Intro., p. clxxix.

The second point we have to consider in detail is that Kārṣāpaṇa was so called because it was one Karṣa in weight. Manu, we have seen, says this about the copper Kārṣāpaṇa only; but Amarasimha gives this to be the weight of all the three classes of Kārṣāpaṇa. So the first question we have to answer is: what is Karṣa? It is a matter of regret that the term *karṣa* has not been explained by Manu, Yājñavalkya or any law-giver. I hope, you remember, e. g., the verse in which Manu says that Kārṣāpaṇa is a copper coin weighing one Karṣa. But this Karṣa has not been explained by Manu in this or any verse of his Code. The term has been explained only by his commentators.* Kullūka, e.g., tells us that Karṣa is equal to one-fourth of Pala. And as Pala is equivalent to 320 Kṛṣṇalas or Ratis, we infer that Karṣa was 80 Ratis in weight.

Cunningham has calculated that the average weight of a Rati is 1.83 grains. Kārṣāpaṇa is thus 146.4 grains in weight. In this connection, it is necessary to take the sub-divisions of the Kārṣāpaṇa into consideration. For our object here is to see whether we can identify Kārṣāpaṇa with any coins recovered from old sites by finding out whether the latter conform to one Karṣa in weight. And this object can be best realised by seeing that not only Kārṣāpaṇa, but also its smaller tokens can be satisfactorily identified. A specification of these token coins occurs in two Jātakas,[19] in one passage from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*,[20] and in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[21] An exhaustive list of the sub-divisions of the Kārṣāpaṇa money, prepared from these sources, would comprise the following : Kārṣāpaṇa, Half-

* [The *Amarakoṣa*, II. 9. 85-86, mentions *karṣa* as equal to 80 Ratis.—Ed.]

19 Vol. I, p. 340, line 30; Vol. III, p. 448, lines 14-15.

20 Vol. II, p. 294, lines 15-16.

21 Ed. Shama Sastri, p. 84.

Kārṣāpaṇa, One-fourth-Kārṣāpaṇa, One-eighth-Kārṣāpaṇa, Four-Māṣaka, Three-Māṣaka, Two-Māṣaka, One-Māṣaka, Half-Māṣaka, One–Kākinī, and Half-Kākinī. Whether these smaller tokens were all of them and at any time prevalent is very doubtful. The most constant factors from amongst these seem to be Half-Kārṣāpaṇa, One-fourth-Kārṣāpaṇa, One-Māṣaka, Half-Māṣaka, One-Kākinī and Half-Kākinī. Whether these smaller tokens were all of them and at any time prevalent is very doubtful. The most constant factors from amongst these seem to be Half-Kārṣāpaṇa, One-fourth-Kārṣāpaṇa, One-Māṣaka, Half-Māṣaka, One-Kākinī and Half-Kākinī. These together with some of the intermediate sub-divisions appear to have formed the token* money of the standard Kārṣāpaṇa of any particular district or of any particular period. If, therefore, Kārsāpaṇa was one Karṣa in weight and is equal to 146.4 grains according to Cunningham's calculations, in attempting to detect Kārṣāpaṇa amongst the numerous types of ancient coinage in India, we ought to find out not only whether there are any which conform to this weight, but also those of smaller sizes which would correspond to one-half, one-fourth and so on of this weight so as to give us the smaller tokens* of the Kārṣāpaṇa as well.

Let us find this out, in the first place, in the case of the copper Kārṣāpaṇa to which we have already confined our attention. The numismatist who made a systematic study of the Kārṣāpaṇa is Alexander Cunningham, whose view would therefore naturally be worth seeking for in this matter. "The unit of the old Indian copper money," says he, "was the *paṇa*, weighing 80 *ratis*, or 146 grains. This was subdivided into halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths, of all of which I possess numerous specimens."[22] Cunningham is here speaking of that class of coins called Punch-marked by authorities on

*[The use of the word here and elsewhere is dubious.— Ed.]
22 *N. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), p. 202.

Indian Numismatics, and he affirms that he was in possession of numerous specimens not only of copper Kārṣāpaṇa, but also of at least four of its smaller tokens. This testimony is, therefore, invaluable. But let us take another instance. I have already informed you that, in ancient Vidiśā, copper Kārṣāpaṇa was the standard money from slightly before the rise of the Mauryas to at least the beginning of the Gupta supremacy, i.e., for upwards of 600 years. And you would naturally be curious to know whether, in that ancient capital of Central India, punch-marked coins of these proportionately diminishing weights were found. If you refer to my two reports on the excavations I carried at this place,[23] you will find that the coins picked up here completely confirm Cunningham's calculations, and also prove something more. What this 'something more' is, will be duly placed before you in the course of this lecture ; but what we are here specially concerned with is that many coins were found in these excavations, corresponding in weight to 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$ of Karṣa and thus pointing clearly to their being Kārṣāpaṇa and its sub-divisions.

So far in regard to the copper Kārṣāpaṇa. Let us now see what gold Kārṣāpaṇa could have been. A Karṣa, you have seen, is equal to 80 Ratis. Do we know of any gold coins which conform to this weight ? Those who are acquainted with the metrology of the ancient coins of India will at once tell you that the gold coin called Suvarṇa has this weight, i.e., it weighs 80 Ratis. Take Manu, e.g., who, while describing the gold standard, says : *pañca-Kṛṣṇalako Māṣas=te Suvarṇas=tu ṣoḍaśa*,[24] i.e., five Kṛṣṇalakas or Ratis make one Māṣa and sixteen Māṣas make one Suvarṇa. Does this not make a Suvarṇa equal to 80 Ratis, the weight of the Kārṣāpaṇa ? Kauṭilya also gives precisely the same information in his *Artha-*

23 *ASI, A R*, 1913-14, pp. 220ff. ; 1914-15, p. 87.

24 VIII. 134.

śāstra.[25] For he says that five Guñjās make one Suvarṇa-Māṣa and sixteen such Māṣas make one Suvarṇa or Karṣa. It will be seen that according to Kauṭilya also one Suvarṇa equates 80 Guñjās, i.e., 80 Ratis. But what is most important in this connection to note is that according to him another name for Suvarṇa is Karṣa. Can any doubt be entertained after this as to Suvarṇa being the gold Kārṣāpaṇa ? Perhaps a sceptic may not be completely satisfied on this point, and may ask whether there were any sub-divisions of Suvarṇa corresponding to those of Kārṣāpaṇa. This is a very natural question to ask. If Kārṣāpaṇa is looked upon as the standard money and if Suvarṇa is gold Kārṣāpaṇa, Suvarṇa surely becomes the standard coin ; and Suvarṇa cannot be admitted to be the standard coin unless it can be shown to have had its smaller tokens like those of Kārṣāpaṇa. Have we got any evidence to prove this ? Now, the same chapter of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, that tells us that Suvarṇa is Karṣa, gives us a list not only of the subdivisions but also of the multiples of gold weights of which the unit is Suvarṇa. I will quote it here for your comparison. It runs thus : *Ardha-Māṣakaḥ, Māṣakaḥ, dvau, catvāraḥ, aṣṭau Māṣakāḥ [Suvarṇa ekaḥ], Suvarṇau dvau, catvāraḥ, aṣṭau Suvarṇāḥ, daśa, viṁśatiḥ, triṁśat, catvāriṁśat, śatam=iti.* As the denominations of coins correspond to the metal weights, are we not entitled to infer from this list that Suvarṇa also had its smaller tokens similar to Kārṣāpaṇa ? No reasonable doubt can now be entertained as to Suvarṇa being intended as the gold Kārṣāpaṇa. Unfortunately this Suvarṇa, or gold Kārṣāpaṇa, cannot be identified with any of the gold coins of ancient India that we have been able to examine or obtain.[26]

25 Ed. Shama Sastri, p. 103. [The *Amarakoṣa*, II. 9. 85-86, speaks of the gold Suvarṇa as weighing 80 Ratis.—Ed.]

26 uriously enough, W. Theobald says that small gold coins of this class are known (*JASB.* 1890, p. 182). If he, however, means the gold pieces with punch marks referred to by Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India*, p. 54, they can hardly be designated Kārṣāpaṇas. For Cunningham's view, however, see *CAI*, p. 51.

Students of Indian numismatics know full well that very few gold coins of the pre-Kuṣāṇa period have survived and that none of these were struck by any royal dynasties native to India. Perhaps the excavation of the sites of the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan periods may lead to the discovery of indigenous gold coins, to the existence of which we have abundant references in Vedic and post-Vedic literature as I shewed you in my last lecture.

If gold coins of genuinely Indian types have not been obtained prior to the Gupta period, silver coins at any rate have been found in abundance and of much earlier periods. Are there any from amongst them which are one Karṣa in weight and may thus be regarded as representing the silver Kārṣāpaṇa? This is what we have now to find out. I am afraid we have to answer this question in the negative, as no coins have so far been discovered which singly weigh one Karṣa. Are we therefore to suppose that there were no silver Kārṣāpaṇas? How then are we to reconcile this with the fact that the Purāṇas are designated Kārṣāpaṇas in some of the Sanskrit works as I told you just a while ago? The Purāṇa has on all hands been admitted to be a class of silver coins and known also as Dharaṇa. But Manu says that two Kṛṣṇalas or Ratis make one silver Māṣaka and that sixteen such Māṣakas make one Dharaṇa.[27] A Dharaṇa or Purāṇa is thus equal to 32 Ratis. How can a Dharaṇa by any stretch of language be called a Karṣa and how can a Purāṇa be supposed to denote the silver Kārṣāpaṇa? Again, the weight which Manu has specified for Purāṇa is not a figment of the imagination, because many silver coins of 32 Ratis or of approximately 58 grains have been found.[28] Why then should Purāṇa have been looked upon as representing the

27 VIII. 135-36.

28 *N. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), p. 201.

silver Kārṣāpaṇa, when it does not weigh one Karṣa? This question must, therefore, confront us here. If we now refer to the chapter from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which gives an account of weights and upon which we drew just a while ago to prove that Suvarṇa was the gold Kārṣāpaṇa, we find that he gives the specification of the weight of a Dharaṇa also, and what is most interesting is that this Dharaṇa is almost the same as Karṣa. Thus according to Kauṭilya 88 Gaura-sarṣapas or white mustard seeds equal one silver Māṣaka and sixteen silver Māṣakas equal one Dharaṇa. The question now is: What is the weight of a Gaura-sarṣapa as compared to a Kṛṣṇala or Rati? Here Manu comes to our aid as he tells us that 18 Gaura-sarṣapas make 1 Kṛṣṇala and 5 Kṛṣṇalas 1 Māṣaka. A Māṣaka is thus, according to Manu, equal to 90 Gaura-sarṣapas, whereas it is equal to 88 according to Kauṭilya. This difference of two white mustard seeds is so insignificant that it is a negligible quantity, especially as a mustard seed of one province cannot possibly be of exactly the same weight as that of another. Thus the Dharaṇa of Kauṭilya practically comes to 80 Ratis, the weight of a Karṣa. Further, it is to be noted that he specifies also the smaller tokens of this silver money, for he speaks not only of silver Paṇas, but also of $\frac{1}{2}$ Paṇas, $\frac{1}{4}$ Paṇas and $\frac{1}{8}$ Paṇas.[29] No rational objection can therefore be raised to Dharaṇa of Kauṭilya's description denoting the real silver Kārṣāpaṇa. But here we are confronted with another question. If Dharaṇa was up till the time of Kauṭilya equal to one Karṣa, why did it suffer a diminution shortly after as is clearly evidenced by the actual specimens of Purāṇas we have obtained, which weigh not 146 grains like a Karṣa, but 58 grains only? Those who have read Cunningham's book entitled *Coins of Ancient India*[30] must be familiar with his remark that India

29 *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Shama Sastri, p. 84.

30 See p. 5; Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and note 1.

produced little or no silver. Kauṭilya,[31] on the other hand, speaks of many varieties of silver, and in no place gives us the impression that it was scarce in his time. Is it possible that shortly after Kauṭilya the sources of producing silver in India began to fail and that consequently as silver became scarce and increased in value, the Purāṇa had to be diminished in weight ?

We thus see that the old Kārṣāpaṇa, which is so frequently mentioned in the early Buddhist literature and Hindu law-books, can be recognised at least in the punch-marked coins, from among the specimens found of the ancient coinage of India. Unfortunately no gold coins conforming to the Hindu metrological standard have been discovered of a period prior to the Gupta supremacy. But, so far as the silver or copper Kārṣāpaṇa is concerned, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the punch-marked coins being among those intended. It, therefore, seems necessary now to say something more about these punch-marked coins in order that you may obtain a clearer idea of the Kārṣāpaṇa. If Kārṣāpaṇa, as we have perceived, represents the standard money of any province, whether it be gold, silver or even copper, it stands to reason that the punch-marked coins which have been identified with them must be found all over India. Is this a fact ? I have just told you that no gold coins of a Hindu dynasty have been discovered of a period anterior to the Guptas. No wonder if gold Kārṣāpaṇas have not yet been identified. But what of the silver or copper Kārṣāpaṇas ? I will, therefore, quote the testimony of two celebrated numismatists to show you over what wide area the punch-marked coins are found. "These silver punch-marked coins," says Cunningham, "are found all over India, from

31 *Op. cit.*, p. 86. [For a conflicting statement, see the original edition of Bhandarkar's work, p. 162 ; also Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 76.—Ed.]

Kabul to the mouth of the Ganges, and from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin. There were 200 specimens in the South Indian collection of Mackenzie, 500 in Masson's Kabul collections, 373 in Stacy's North Indian collection, 227 in the British Museum. About 2000 have passed through my hands and altogether I have seen between 4000 and 5000 specimens."[32] Another numismatist, E. Thomas, makes the following remarks in regard to the range of the distribution of the Kārṣāpaṇa coins. "The silver pieces of this class," says he, "the *purāṇas* of the Law-books, are found in unusual numbers, and over almost the entire length and breadth of Hindustan,—starting from the banks of the sacred Sarasvatī to a crypt formed by nature, eighteen feet below the soil which now covers the inhumed city of ancient Behat—down the course of the Ganges to the sea, encircling the eastern and western coasts, and taking refuge even in the 'Kistvæns' of the extinct races of the Dakhin."[33] These quotations will give you an exact idea of the range of the circulation of the punch-marked coins. Of course, copper punch-marked coins also have been found; but they are comparatively few. Copper is a more perishable metal than silver. Copper coins, again, are more apt to be melted down into domestic utensils. Besides, it is quite possible that in the ancient period represented by the punch-marked coins, the standard issue was generally silver Kārṣāpaṇa, occasionally copper and rarely gold Kārṣāpaṇa. This may explain the proportionate paucity of the copper and gold, as compared to the silver Kārṣāpaṇas found in India.

But at this stage some of you may perhaps ask : what is meant by punch-marked coins ? The term 'punch-marked' let me tell you, is used in contradistinction to 'die-struck.' A die covers the whole or very nearly the whole of the face of a coin;

32. *CIA*, p. 42.
33. *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 53.

but a punch covers only a small portion of its surface so that the blank of a coin is impressed not by one but by many separate punches representing many devices and applied irregularly at various points. The face of the coin thus presents a curious appearance, consisting, as it does, of a regular network of symbols often overlapping. It had for a long time been thought that these symbols were the arbitrary marks of particular shroffs and moneyers and not assignable to any particular state or locality and that they were punched into these coins haphazard by these authorities as the coins passed through their hands.[34] D. B. Spooner was the first scholar to refute this view. In November, 1906, some silver punch-marked coins were found in the Government House grounds in Peshawar. Of these only 61 could be secured, and were examined very carefully by Spooner, who contributed a paper on them to the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.* In one place in this paper he makes the following remarks: "But my tabulation of the marks occurring on the coins of the present collection tends directly to a refutation of this view. The abovementioned group of 5 symbols occurs on 20 of the 61 coins in the collection, with one symbol regularly in each corner, and one, with like regularity the *dharma-cakra,* impressed on one edge and overlapping the nearest two. This alone would have rendered the old theory doubtful, but when it is added that in every case where the punch-mark on the reverse was decipherable, it was found to be what Cunnigham called the 'Taxila mark'* we have an invariable concomitance established between a particular group of 5 symbols on the reverse, which cannot conceivably be lacking in significance and which points decidedly to these coins having been the regular coinage of some one accepted central authority, and the symbols or their

34 Smith, *CCIM*, pp. 133-34.

* [For the so-called Taxila symbol, see also Allan, *Catalogue of Coins (Ancient India)*, p. cxxxviii—Ed.]

selection the recognised insignia of the same, not the private marks of individual moneyers impressed haphazard from time to time."[35] Practically the same conclusion was forced on me when I had to examine the punch-marked coins, all copper, which I picked up in my excavations at Besnagar. Here I could detect at least three classes of coins corresponding to three distinct groups of symbols found on them.[36] And it is a matter of extreme gratification that Walsh came to the same conclusion from an examination of 108 punch-marked silver coins from an earthen *ghaḍā* found buried in the bank of the Ganges at Golakhpur in Patna City, about 15 feet below the present surface of the ground. The interest of this find lies in the fact that the marks on the coins 'occur in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse', though, of course, with a few varying additional symbols as might be expected,[37] and that these regular combinations of marks enabled Walsh to divide the coins into at least five classes. These discoveries of punch-marked coins with their provenances definitely known, give a death-blow to the theory that all symbols on them 'were affixed haphazard by shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed',[38] and give rise to the incontestable conclusion that they constitute 'coinages' peculiar to three different provincial towns,—one belonging to Takṣaśilā of North-West India, the second to Pāṭaliputra of Eastern India and the third to Vidiśā of Central India.

That different places had their constant and regular groups of symbols or mint-marks peculiar to them not only can be apprehended by a critical study of these punch-marked coins,

35 *ASI, A R*, 1905-06, p. 153. [There is evidence to show that punch-marked coins were often issued not directly by the states, but by other agencies. See Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 102ff. – Ed.]

36 *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 220 ff.

37 *JBORS*, Vol. V, 1919, pp. 18-19.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

but is also attested by a passage from the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa to which I have already drawn the attention of scholars in my report of the excavations at Besnagar.[39] It describes how a lot of coins lying on a wooden slab would strike an inexperienced boy, a man from the village, and a shroff or money-changer. The boy would notice simply that some coins were oblong, some round and some elongated in shape. The rustic would know all this, and also that coins were, like gems, worthy objects of enjoyment to mankind. The shroff, on the other hand, not only would be conversant with all this, but also would be in a position to decide, after handling the coins in a variety of ways, which of them were struck at which village, mofassil town, capital city, mountain and river bank, and also by what mint master. Is it not clear from this passage that every place which issued coinage had its own distinguishing mark or marks stamped on it, by observing which the shroff of the ancient day could at once tell from which place any particular coin came ? In regard to villages and towns we have just seen that Takṣaśilā, Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā had their own individual marks on their coinage. And when a new hoard of Kārṣāpaṇas is discovered, we have only to notice their provenance and such distinguishing marks in order that we might obtain knowledge of the characteristic symbols of the coins of other villages and towns. The passage from the *Visuddhimagga* also speaks of coins struck near hills or on river banks. Those who have examined the Kārṣāpaṇas found at Besnagar or Eran are already familiar with the sign—a zig-zag—denoting a river bank.[40] The same sign occurs on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas along with another, which was so long

39 *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 226.

40 *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV, Nos. 1-4, etc. ; Cunningham, *CAI*, Pl. XI, Nos. 1-5.

wrongly supposed to stand for a *stūpa* or *caitya*, but which is now rightly perceived to represent a mountain.[41] Theobald has written an interesting paper on the significance of the symbols on punch-marked coins, and we have only to refer to the plates of his article to be convinced that there were many variations of one and the same symbol, e.g., that representing a hill or river bank.[42] These variations of the symbols the shroffs of the early periods must have been conversant with, to enable them to tell from what different hills and river banks the coins came.

I have just alluded to Theobald's article on punch-marked coins. Therein he enumerates no less than 277 symbols occurring on them. Many more have since been discovered. But no numismatist has yet been able to give an intelligent classification of them. Theobald has no doubt made an attempt at this classification. He has thus placed these devices under six heads, namely, (1) the human figures ; (2) implements, arms and works of man, including the *stūpas* or *caityas*, bow and arrow, etc.; (3) animals ; (4) trees, branches and fruit ; (5) symbols connected with solar, planetary or Śivite worship ; and (6) miscellaneous and unknown. But this classification, I am afraid, is as good as nothing, for what is gained by our being told that one group of devices is human figures ; another, animals ; a third, trees, and so forth ? What we should like to know is the significance of the human figures, or animals such as the elephant or horse, that we find punched on the Kārṣāpaṇas. Elsewhere,[43] in this connection, I have remarked that one set of symbols is certainly the seven *ratnas* or treasures, the possession of which constitutes paramount sovereignty. These have been described e.g., in the *Mahāsudas-*

41 *ASI, A R*, 1913-14, pp. 211-12.

42 *JASB*, 1890, Pl. VIII, Nos. 46-52.

43 *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 211.

sana Sutta. They are (1) *cakra* or wheel, (2) *hastin* or elephant, (3) *aśva* or horse, (4) *maṇi* or gem, (5) *strī* or woman, (6) *gṛhapati* or treasurer, and (7) *pariṇāyaka* or counsellor.[44] All these symbols can be easily recognised on the Kārṣāpaṇas, and their presence is quite natural and intelligible on coins which are indicative of sovereignty. In the same paper where I identified these devices, I have thrown out a hint that another group of signs on these coins must consist of auspicious symbols and that some of them are certainly those met with in old cave inscriptions which begin or end with them. But no scholar seems to have yet worked in this direction.

Far more interesting than the classification of these symbols is their origin, and Theobald has done great service to the cause of ancient Indian numismatics by drawing our prominent attention to this fact. His attempt at explaining the origin of most of these marks, it is true, was not much successful, and many of his conclusions in regard to the origin of particular symbols will not commend themselves to archaeologists. Nevertheless, he was the first to perceive that most of the symbols noticeable on the punch-marked coins 'occur in such diverse lands as Assyria, Egypt, India and Scotland', and to trace at least fourteen of these signs which were identical with those figured on the sculptured stones of Scotland.[45] This raises an issue of paramount importance for the history of the world, and suggest a prehistoric origin of some of the marks punched on the Kārṣāpaṇas. I will cite here two or three instances only to show what I mean. Take first the *svastika*, which is regarded as a symbol of auspiciousness in India to this day. We are so much accustomed to perceive this symbol in the modern homes as on the antiquities of India

44 *SBE*, Vol. XI, pp. 252ff. [The last three are the queen, the retinue of house-holders and the crown-prince, according to some. See Childers' *Pali Dict.*, s. v.—Ed.]

45 *JASB*, 1890, pp. 186-87.

that we are apt to suppose that it is an auspicious symbol peculiar to this country alone. And if it is found in Japan, China and Tibet in ancient as well as modern times, it can be explained as being imported there from India. What is, however, noteworthy is that it is found on the prehistoric antiquities of Spain, Portugal, Greece and even America. With regard to this symbol, Cartailhac says as follows : "Modern Christian archaeologists have obstinately contended that the *svastika* was composed of four *gamma*, and so have called it the Croix Gammee. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* placed it on the boat of Rāma long before they had any knowledge of Greek. It is found on a number of Buddhist edifices ; the sectarians of Viṣṇu placed it as a sign upon their foreheads. Burnouf says that it is the Aryan sign *par excellence*. It was surely a religious emblem in use in India fifteen (?) centuries before the Christian era, and thence it spread to every part. In Europe it appeared about the middle of the civilization of the Bronze Age, and we find it, pure or transformed into a cross, on a mass of objects in metal or pottery during the First Age of Iron." It is not my object to enter into a full discussion on the—*svastika*, round which has clustered a mass of literature and for which I would refer you all to the most exhaustive treatment of it by Thomas Wilson, published in the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* for the year ending June 30, 1894. What, however, I wish you to note in this connection is that, though in modern times the *svastika* is confined to India, Tibet, China and Japan, in ancient days it was well known all over the southern and western portion of Europe and made its appearance as early as the middle of the Bronze Age. The systematic study of the prehistoric archaeology of India has but just begun, and has been started by Calcutta University. It would therefore be interesting to know to what early period our University colleagues are able to trace the existence of the *svastika* on the prehistoric Indian antiquities.

Another symbol which is met with on the Kārṣāpaṇas and later coins and to which I would invite your attention now is the sign which is supposed, and wrongly supposed, to represent the *stūpa* or *caitya*. We have got at least two specimens of this symbol, on one of which a peacock and on the other a dog is represented as standing. If the symbol is taken to be one of a *stūpa* or *caitya*, the presence of a peacock or dog on its summit is inexplicable. Cunningham was the first to suggest that it was a sign for Mount Meru,[46] and this idea was afterwards accepted by Bhagwanlal Indraji.[47] I have elsewhere expressed the view that the symbol need not be taken to stand specifically for Mount Meru, but rather for a hill in general.[48] According to this view, the peacock or dog on its top can very well be understood to stand for the different vehicles of the different hill deities represented. Now, a seal-impression of late Minoan style has been found at Knossos, which has been ascribed to *circa* 1500 B. C. On it figures the mountain-mother standing on the peak of her hill and flanked by guardian lions.[49] The hill on which she stands is represented as consisting of rows of semi-circular curves raised in tiers exactly as the so-called *stūpa* or *caitya* symbol does. This clearly shows that the symbol cannot possibly denote a *stūpa* or *caitya*, but rather a hill, and that this representation of the hill can be traced even outside India and to the prehistoric period, certainly earlier than 1500 B. C. to which the Knossos seal has been assigned.

Two more of the prehistoric signs occurring on the punch-marked coins. Figure 144 of Theobald's Plates is described by him as 'a star of eight points', and is a mark found on

46 *N. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), p. 188.

47 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 30.

48 *ASI, A R*, 1913-14, pp. 211-12; *JRAS*, 1915, p. 412.

49 *ERE*, Vol. VIII, p. 868; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. III, pp. 295-96 and Pl. XXXIII.

Kārṣāpaṇas. But precisely the same sign has been observed on the megalithic pottery exhumed by Yazdani from the prehistoric cairns in the Nizam's Dominions as will be seen from No. 69 of his 'Diagram of marks'.[50] The same symbol is noticeable also in the neolithic rock-carvings in Edakal in Malabar.[51] Again, the numismatists need not be told what is meant by the 'Ujjain symbol'. Cunningham invented this designation, because the symbol frequently occurred on coins found at Ujjain. The designation is, however, admitted to be defective, because the same symbol is noticeable in other parts of India. The designation is applied to an object which consists of a cross with each of its arms terminating in a ball or circle, and precisely this object is found in crosses on the Kassite cylinders in Western Asia.[52]

It would be too irksome for me to exhaust the list of the symbols on Kārṣāpaṇas, which have a prehistoric origin.[53] Panchanan Mitra, who is keen on the prehistoric archæology of India, is, I hear, already engaged on a systematic study of these symbols. This is just as it should be. What we have to note here is that there are not one or two but many prehistoric symbols to be found on the punch-marked coins. Theobald himself has observed not less than fourteen such, engraved on the sculptured stones of Scotland. There was a time when Fergusson and archæologists of his kidney relegated the rude stone monuments of Great Britain and Scotland to the post-Roman period ; but no archæologist of any repute now disputes their prehistoric character or assigns them to any time posterior to 1500 B.C. When therefore we find so many symbols of prehistoric origin occurring on the punch-marked coins, it is

50 *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, p. 57.

51 *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 413, No. 24.

52 W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 394.

53 Attention may also be drawn in this connection to *JBORS*, 1920, p. 400.

difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage must have been handed down to us from prehistoric times. If any further evidence is required, it is furnished by the fact, brought to our attention by Elliot, that these punch-marked coins 'have been discovered among the ashes of the men who constructed the primitive tombs known as the *Pāṇḍu-kulis* (or, Kistvæns) of the South, and unearthed from the ruins of buried cities in excavating the head-waters of the Ganges Canal."[54] "A large hoard of these coins," says he elsewhere, "was discovered in September, 1807, at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of *Pāṇḍu-kulis* near the village of Chavadi-paleiyam in Coimbatore, thus identifying the employment of this kind of money with the aboriginal race whose places of sepulchre are scattered over every part of Southern India."[55] In regard to Pāṇḍu-kulis or Pāṇḍu-kuris as they are properly called, Caldwell in his *Dravidian Grammar*[56] says as follows : "It is a remarkable circumstance that no class of Hindus knows anything of the race to which these Druidical remains belonged and that neither in Sanskrit literature nor in that of the Dravidian languages is there any tradition on the subject. The Tamil people generally call the cairns by the name of *Pāṇḍu-kuris*. *Kuri* means a pit or grave, and *pāṇḍu* denotes anything connected with the Pāṇḍus, to whom all over India ancient mysterious structures are attributed." It will thus be seen that quite in consonance with the indisputable fact that prehistoric signs are found on the Kārṣāpaṇas is the other fact, equally indisputable, that they have been picked up also from the prehistoric cairns. I have repeatedly remarked that prehistoric archæology of India is yet in its infancy ; but even taking the most unfavourable estimate of the age of these monuments,

54 *Coins of Southern India*, p. 45.

55 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1858, p. 227.

56 See p. 526.

the Pāṇḍu-kuris, I am afraid, cannot possibly be placed later than 1500 B,C.* In these circumstances, the introduction of the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage must be attributed to about the beginning of the second millennium before Christ. Cunningham who had far deeper insight into the age and nature of the ancient monuments of India than any of his successors was disposed to date these coins as early as 1000 B.C. ; but Smith thought this estimate to be certainly much in excess of the truth because his mind was obsessed with the idea that coinage began with the Lydians about 700 B.C. and that consequently there could be no coined money in India prior to that date. It is inconceivable how he stuck to this notion when the passage from Elliot regarding the find of punch-marked coins in the prehistoric Pāṇḍu-kuris was known to him, and has actually been quoted by him in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*.[57] This is another piece of evidence, over and above that based on references to coins in the Vedic literature, to which I drew your attention in the last lecture,—I say, this is another piece of evidence which points to a much higher antiquity for the coinage of India than numismatists would fain allow. In order that I may not be misunderstood, let me make it clear to you that all that I contend is that the coinage of India must date from the prehistoric period. I do not, however, maintain thereby that the art of coinage originated in India, though the trend of evidence points to that hypothesis, no actual specimens of or even references to coins having yet been found in respect of the prehistoric age of any other country than India.**

* [Some of them appear to belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. Coins of dates ranging between the 3rd century B.C. and 4th century A.D. have been traced in the cairns. See *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 112.—Ed.]

57 See p. 135.

** [This is based on a misconception about the date of the cairns.—Ed.]

Just one or two minor points connected with Kārṣāpaṇa before I conclude this lecture. We have seen that Kārṣāpaṇa is a coin which weighs one Karṣa. We have also seen that, though both Manu and Yājñavalkya speak of Kārṣāpaṇa, they do not specify the weight of a Karṣa, which is, however, done by their commentators and which comes to 80 Ratis.* Rapson goes a step further and gives an actual table, according to which 5 Ratis or Raktikās make 1 Māṣa, and 16 Māṣakas 1 Karṣa.[58] And the same is repeated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her 'Notes on Early Economic Condition in Northern India'.[59] Whether this table is based on the authority of any Smṛti I have not been able to find out ; but certain it is, as I have already said, that neither Manu nor Yājñavalkya has given it.** The same table is, however, cited by Suśruta, and, in fact, Karṣa is a weight pretty familiar to the Hindu science of medicine. Thus in accordance with this table, sixteen Māṣas make one Kārṣāpaṇa. The commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*,[60] however, tells us that in the time of king Bimbisāra, five Māṣakas equalled one Pāda, thus making one Kārṣāpaṇa equivalent, not to sixteen, but to twenty Māṣas. This receives corroboration from a Jātaka which, while mentioning the sub-divisions of a Kārṣāpaṇa, speaks of a Four-Māṣaka piece as of lower value than a Pāda.[61] It is not, however, clear whether this Kārṣāpaṇa, because it consisted of twenty Māṣas, weighed more than 80 Ratis. It is quite possible that its weight continued to be the same, making its Māṣa equal to four Ratis only, and not five.

It is worth noticing in this connection that Kauṭilya in his

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* [The *Amarakoṣa* mentions the weight of the Karṣa. See above, p. 471, note 25.—Ed.]

58 *CICBM–AKTB*, Intro., p. cixxviii.

59 *JRAS*, 1901, p. 878.

** [It is found in the *Amarakoṣa* cited above.—Ed.]

60 Vol. III, p. 45.

61 *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 448, lines 14-15.

Arthaśāstra speaks of Paṇa, Half-Paṇa, Quarter-Paṇa and One-eighth-Paṇa as silver coins, and Māṣaka, Half-Māṣaka, Kākanī and Half-Kākanī as copper coins.[62] This information is interesting in more than one way. For, in the first place, we see that the smallest silver coin in Kauṭilya's time was One-eighth Paṇa or Kārṣāpaṇa. Secondly, the smallest copper coin in his time was Half-Kākanī. As Kākanī denotes a lower denomination than Half-Māṣaka, Kākanī could not have weighed more than one-fourth of a Māṣa. Half-Kākanī must therefore, have weighed one-eighth of a Māṣa, i. e., one-eighth of five Ratis. And as one Rati is equivalent to 1.83 grains, Half-Kākanī must have equalled 1.14 grains at the most. Just imagine having any coin weighing only a little above one grain. Such a thing is almost inconceivable in the present age.

But perhaps the most complicated point we have to tackle in connection with this type of coinage is the weight of the Kārṣāpaṇas and its smaller tokens. This weight problem I will place before you in a few words. Take first the weight of the copper Kārṣāpaṇa. It weighs, we have seen, approximately, 146.4 grains. But, as a matter of fact, the Kārṣāpaṇa of all provinces do not strictly conform to this weight; e.g., among the various coins picked up by me in the Besnagar excavations the Kārṣāpaṇa weighs 147.5 grains.[63] I admit it is quite possible to explain this small difference of weight by saying that the Raktikā or Guñjā seeds of the different provinces, like any other seeds, cannot be of exactly the same weight, and that this insignificant difference of 2 or 3 grains is, therefore, permissible. But take another case which, I am afraid, cannot be made explicable in this way. If the Kārṣāpaṇa weighed 147.5 grains at Besnagar, the Ardha-Kārṣāpaṇa must have weighed about 74 grains. But between these weights of

62 *Op. cit.*, p. 84.
63 *ASI, A R*, 1913-14, p. 211, No. 24; p. 224, No. 13.

the full and half Kārṣāpaṇas, i.e., between 147 and 74 grains, we have coins found at Besnagar itself which weigh 139, 114, 111.5 and 107 grains.[64] What could be the denomination of these four coins ? Are we to imagine that there was also a $\frac{3}{4}$ Kārṣāpaṇa ? In that case, it is true, it would weigh approximately 111 grains, and among the four coins whose weights have just been mentioned there is no doubt one which weighs 111.5 grains. And there is nothing to preclude us from supposing that it represents the $\frac{3}{4}$ Kārṣāpaṇa. But what about the remaining three ? Their denomination cannot possibly be explained away similarly, because their weights are far removed from those of the 1, $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ Kārṣāpaṇas. Again, it is not the copper Kārṣāpaṇas only that present this difficulty. The silver Kārṣāpaṇas, or Purāṇas as they are called, give rise to the same problem. Of course, we shall not here take for our consideration any promiscuous group of Purāṇas coming from different places. But we will restrict ourselves only to those which have been discovered at one single place just as in the case of copper Kārṣāpaṇas we consider only those that were found at Besnagar. Let us therefore confine ourselves, e.g., to the Peshawar hoard of Purāṇas which was reported upon by Spooner. The accepted weight of a silver Kārṣāpaṇa is 58.56 grains. The weight of a Half-Purāṇa must therefore come to 29.28. There is really no specimen of the Half-Purāṇa or lower denomination in this hoard. The lowest weight to which some of these Purāṇas conform is 42.09 which is far removed from 29.28, the weight of the Half-Purāṇa and which cannot thus be identified with that denomination. The weights presented by the other Purāṇas of this hoard are 42.09, 43.92, 45.75, 47.58, 49.41, 51.24, 53.7 and 56.73. The last of these weights only, viz., 56.73, comes so close to 58.56, the weight of the Purāṇa, that this difference is of no consequence, and

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 220-24.

that the coin of the Peshawar hoard bearing that weight is apt to be regarded as a Purāṇa. We will, therefore, leave that weight out of consideration. We may also ignore the first three of these weights because they approximate to 43.92 the weight of the Purāṇa, supposing for the moment that there was such a denomination. But what about the other weights which are no less than four and which do not run close to 1, $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇa? How are we to account for this mutability of weight evinced by the Kārṣāpaṇa? No solution that is absolutely convincing has yet suggested itself to me. But a most probable explanation is that this reduction of weight is due to the debasement of the coin. That this reduction was deliberate and systematic may be seen by a reference to the accompanying chart which sets forth the different weights to which the different Purāṇas of the Peshawar hoard conform. In the first column have been given their weights in grains and in the second in Māṣas. And it will be seen from the second column that these weights advance from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $15\frac{1}{2}$ Māṣas by the successive and regular rise of a $\frac{1}{2}$ Māṣa. The actual difference between the maximum and minimum of these weights is 14.66. And in this connection, I may mention to you that I made an experiment on two different men in regard to the Kārṣāpaṇas. Two Kārṣāpaṇas of different weights and in different pairs were several times placed on the palms of their hands after carefully blindfolding them, and they were asked to tell which of the two coins was heavier than the other. Sometimes they were right, but sometimes they were wrong—even grievously wrong. And what amused me most was that sometimes a coin which was even 15 grains lighter was pronounced by them to be the heavier of the two. The ordinary human hand, I concluded, cannot unaided detect a difference of even 15 grains. No wonder therefore if the Purāṇas of the Peshawar hoard were debased to the extent of 14.66 grains. The people of Gandhāra could not possibly have detected this reduction of weight by

the mere touch of their hand, and the debasement of the coin, necessitated perhaps by political exigencies, could thus have been safely practised on them.

Debasement of coin, which leads to decline in weight, may be one cause of the mutability of weight noticeable in Kārṣāpaṇa and its sub-divisions. It must not, however, be supposed that debasement of coin is the only explanation of this phenomenon. Other causes also must have operated. I may here mention one of those most likely causes, and shall do so by selecting an instance from Mussalman numismatics. Those who have studied Mughul coinage need not be told that Aurangzīb in the earlier part of his reign issued copper Dāms of the heavy type, but that all the Dāms dating from the seventh to the fortyninth year of his reign weighed much less.[65] This is not, however, an instance of the debasement of the currency as one is apt to suppose on first consideration. The real explanation is furnished by the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, which expressly tells us that the weight of the old Dāms of Aurangzīb was 21 Māṣas, but that the new Dām weighed only 14 Māṣas. In the Mughul period, as most of you know, there was free coinage in all metals so that any individual could bring his bullion to the mint and get it coined by bearing the cost of manufacture and paying seigniorage to government. But soon after the fifth regnal year of Aurangzīb, as the *Mirāt* informs us, the price of copper had suddenly gone up considerably, with the result that neither the state nor the merchants could find it profitable to coin copper pieces of the normal weight, which consequently lessened in quantity. This deficiency of the copper money, which was the principal circulating medium of the poorer classes, was a source of extreme inconvenience to them. With the sanction of the emperor, the Dāms were, therefore, reduced in weight, and, as we have just seen, were reduced by no less than seven Māṣas. Similar economic exigencies may

65 *JASB, NS*, 1917, pp. 62-67.

have necessitated reduction of weight in the Kārṣāpaṇa and its token money at different times and in different localities, such as Besnagar, to which I have referred above. And this may be another cause of the multiplicity of weight in this coinage.

I cannot conclude my lecture on the Kārṣāpaṇa without taking notice of another theory which has been propounded to explain the metrological complications of this coinage. This theory was first set forth nine years ago by a French scholar called M. J. A. Decourdemanche.[65] He contends that the punch-marked coins, whether of silver or copper, constitute simply a Hindu variety of Akhæmenid Persian coinage. The latter does not differ from the former except in impression. We know that in much later times, certain Muhammadan sovereigns of India issued some coins of purely Arabic style and legend. Similarly, the Akhæmenian sovereigns struck punch-marked coins with Hindu symbols side by side with the Persian *sigloi*. That these coins were an Akhæmenian issue he tries to prove by the fact that their weights in his opinion conform to the metric system connected with the Talent type, which first came into use either in Egypt or in the Assyro-Babylonian region and dependencies, and was the basis of the Akhæmenid coinage. To prove his point he selects punch-marked coins from Smith's *Catalogue*, and reviews their weights. Confining our attention to the silver variety, he takes, e.g., five coins whose weights range between 43.6 and 46.2 grains and classes them under Triobolus of the heavy variety, whose theoretical weights is 44 grains. Some coins weighing between 40.2 and 42 grains he assigns to Triobolus of the light variety (42 grains). Two or three coins of 55 or 55.6 grains are called by him Tetrobolus (56 grains). He also traces Didrachmas of both the heavy and light variety among these punch-marked coins. But there are many silver punch-marked

65 *JA*, Tome XIX (1912), pp. 117ff.

coins which cannot be assigned to any of the well-known subdivisions of the Shekel (Daric). He, therefore, places them under four classes, the smallest of which weighs 26.5 grains. He takes this last class as representing $\frac{1}{8}$ of the unit, which thus comes to a Shekel of $14\frac{1}{6}$ grammes (heavy weight), and this is precisely the weight, he says, of an Egyptian Pharaonic Shekel. I do not wish to take you further into the intricacies of the question, because it is unnecessary to do so.

Let us now see how far this theory solves the weight problem of the Kārṣāpaṇas. I have told you that M. Decourdemanche relies upon the punch-marked coins described in Smith's *Catalogue.* But nobody knows as to which of these coins came from which provinces. We, however, do know the provenance of the hoard of Purāṇas upon which Spooner reported. It was undoubtedly found at Peshawar. Nobody can dispute that Peshawar and the surrounding region were subject to the Akhæmenian rule. But what tale do these coins tell? They reveal a gradation of weights, each gradation marked by 1.83 grains, i.e. exactly by half a silver Māṣa. There are here, not one, but seven such gradations, and every one of these gradations is represented precisely by half a Māṣa. I have already tried to explain why this regular progression or rather retrogression of weight is perceptible in the coins of this lot. But whatever the correct explanation may be, this much is certain that the metrical system to which these differences of weight are conformable is purely Indian, for Māṣa is certainly an Indian weight. And if the punch-marked coins were really an Indian variety of the Akhæmenian coinage as maintained by M. Decourdemanche, would we have found this gradation marked, not by the Assyro-Babylonian, but by the Hindu weight, Māṣa, in a hoard of coins found in a territory which certainly was once under the Akhæmenian sway? Even conceding for the moment that the punch marked coins are an Indian variety of the Akhæmenian coinage, M. Decourdemanche

does not explain why the multiplicity of weight evinced by the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage is reserved only for the Indian variety, and not found in the sigloi, the Persian variety, a large number of which have been discovered in the Punjab and the frontier region. Again, one class of coins weighing about 55 grains is called Tetrobolus by him, and another weighing 46, Triobolus. A third class of coins weighing between 47.8 and 52.5 is treated as a third variety. We have thus three distinct classes of coins here. And as the difference of weight in none of these classes exceeds nine grains, I defy any ordinary human being to distinguish between these three varieties by the mere use of his hand. As they have been regarded as three different varieties, it stands to reason that they also have three different values. And if they are intended to possess different values, they must be capable of being distinguished by an ordinary individual by the mere handling. But as the difference of their weights does not go beyond nine grains, how is it possible, I ask, for an ordinary person to easily distinguish between these varieties? I am afraid, it is not possible to look upon them as so many distinct denominations of coins, and any attempt therefore to refer them to any weights of the Assyro-Babylonian system will not carry conviction. Fourthly, M. Decourdemanche selects some coins weighing about 26.5 grains, which, he thinks, represent the smallest class; and taking that weight as equivalent to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the unit he arrives at the weight of the unit, and concludes from it that this unit is an Egyptian Pharaonic Shekel. It is not, however, clear to me why he regards that 26.5 grains are the smallest weight exhibited by the silver punch-marked coins when even Smith's *Catalogue* gives a still lower weight, viz., 21.5 grains. It is also not clear to me why he looks upon it as representing the $\frac{1}{8}$ part only of the unit, and not any other fraction of it. These are some of the reasons for which I cannot bring myself to accept M. Decourdemanche's theory.

CHART OF THE PESHAWAR HOARD[67]

No.	Weight: *Grains*	Weight: *Māṣas*		No. in Spooner's Catalogue
1.	56.73	15½	...	Pl. A. 14.
2.	53.07	14½	...	Pl. A. 3.
3.	51.24	14	...	Pl. A. 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 22, 26, 28 ; Pl. B. 1.
4.	49.41	13½	...	Pl. A. 4, 9, 10, 12, 19, 20, 24, 27, 29 ; Pl. B. 5, 29, 31.
5.	47.58	13	...	Pl. A. 1, 7, 18 ; Pl. B. 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 28.
6.	45.75	12½	...	Pl. A. 2, 6, 21, 23, 25, 30 ; Pl. B. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 30.
7.	43.92	12	...	Pl. A. 16 ; Pl. B. 10.
8.	42.09	11½	...	Pl. B. 2, 15, 17.

67 *ASI, AR*, 1905-06, pp. 160ff. The original article does not clearly tell us whether these punch-marked coins were of silver or copper. But Spooner has kindly informed me that they are of silver.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

I. Ahmad, M.A., Ph.D.	...	Lecturer, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.
. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., D. Phil.	...	Lecturer in the Dept. of AIHC, Calcutta University.
. K. Billorey, M.A.	..	Junior Research Fellow, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University.
Buddha Prakash, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.	..	Professor, Kurukshetra University.
A. K. Chakravarti, M.A.	...	Assistant Professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil.	...	Senior Research Fellow, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University.
B. D. Chattopadhyaya, M.A., Ph. D.	...	Lecturer, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi,
D. R. Das, M.A., D. Phil.	...	Lecturer in the Dept. of AIHC, Calcutta University.
S. K. Das, M.A.	...	Research Worker, Calcutta.
K. G. Krishnan, M.A.	...	Superintending Epigraphist, A. S. I., Mysore.
S. N. Misra, M.A., Ph. D.	...	Reader, Lucknow University.
A. C. Pal, M.A., Ph. D.	...	Lecturer, Dept. of Archaeology, Calcutta University.
Asko Parpola, M.A., Ph.D.	...	Research Fellow, Scandinavian Instituet of Asian Studies, Copenhagen.
S. Sankaranarayanan, M.A., Ph. D.	...	Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, A.S.I., Mysore.
H. Sarkar, M.A.	...	Superintending Archaeologist, Temple Survey Project, A. S. I., Madras.
D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.	...	Carmichael Professor and Head of the Dept. of AIHC, Calcutta University.

N.B. Our system of transliteration —

आ=ā, ई=ī, ऊ=ū, ऋ=ṛ, ए=e (long), ĕ (short), ओ=o (long), ŏ=(short), ङ=ṅ, च=c, ञ=ñ, ट=ṭ, ड=ḍ, ण=ṇ, श=ś, ष=ṣ, ड़=ḍ, ळ = l, cerebral voiced fricative=ḻ, *anusvāra*=ṁ, *candrabindu* (*ānunāsika*)=m̐, *visarga*=ḥ. *Samāsa* is indicated by hyphen and *sandhi* by the sign of equals ; e. g. *vāg-arthv=iva*.

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N.B.—To be had of Prof. D. C. Sircar, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 51/2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19.